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TACITUS.

THE SIXTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS.



TACITUS.

THE SIXTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS.

EDITED WITH NOTES

BY THE

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PREFACE.

WE have gladly adopted a suggestion made to us some time ago that we should prepare a separate edition of this book of the *Annals* for the use of the higher forms of Schools and of University Students. Its great and varied interest seems to justify the choice. J

We have reprinted from our Translation of the *Annals*¹ notes of some length on Tacitus's Character of the Emperor Tiberius and on The Financial Crisis at Rome in A.D. 33.

The text followed has, with a few unimportant exceptions, been that of Orelli.

A few sentences, amounting to about ten or twelve lines in the whole, have been omitted.

A. J. C.
W. J. B.

RETFORD,
July 30, 1878.

¹ Macmillan and Co, 1877.

SIXTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Sixth Book of the Annals of Tacitus embraces a period of five years, from A.D. 32 to 37. They are the closing years of the reign of the third of the Caesars, Tiberius Claudius Nero.

Almost all the Fifth Book is unfortunately lost. In this was related the fall of Sejanus, the prosecutions arising out of which rendered this period a reign of terror. With these the Sixth Book opens. Tiberius encouraged them, and Tacitus implies that he did so with a peculiarly savage vindictiveness. Of all the blots on the emperor's memory, many of which may well be due to perverse and wilful misrepresentation, these are unquestionably the blackest and most hideous.

Sejanus may be said to have been the evil genius of Tiberius. Yet that the man must have had great qualities, possibly some virtues, is clear enough even from Tacitus's own testimony. He was certainly an able officer, and had plenty of courage and strength of will, and we wonder to find Dr Merivale speaking of him as "the wretched Sejanus," a much too contemptuous epithet, as we cannot but think. The man was anything but contemptible, though there can be hardly a doubt that he was thoroughly self-seeking, and, on the whole, morally bad. Only here also we must remember that Tacitus would be quite sure to paint him in the worst colours, as he had much to do with the ruin of the family of Germanicus. This single fact was enough to damn him with the historian, who was a hearty admirer of the great general, and of his noble though rather imperious consort Agrippina, and who probably drew some of his inspiration from the memoirs of their notorious offspring, the younger Agrippina. Velleius Paterculus, it should be at least noted, speaks as well of the man as he does of his patron. Still we are persuaded on the whole that Sejanus was a selfish intriguer, and was not very far from deserving the shocking downfall which ultimately overtook him. In this instance the verdict of history is, we believe, substantially true.

Sejanus of course owed his marvellous success in life to exceptional ability, and yet it cannot be said that he was altogether a self-made man. He started with great advantages. He came indeed from what

was then a mere provincial town, Vulsinii, though once it had been one of the chief cities of Etruria, and this was in after years basely made a matter of reproach against him by the Roman nobles. But his father, Scius Strabo, was not only a Roman knight; he had risen to the distinguished post of commander of the praetorian guards, and this post he held at the close of Augustus' reign and at the beginning of that of his successor. His mother too, if we may believe Paterculus, was a lady of good family, and his *praenomen* Aelius implies perhaps that he had been adopted by some member of the Aelian gens. Early in life he was numbered among the *cohors* or suite of Caius Caesar, son of Agrippa and Julia, and so the grandson of Augustus. From the very first he had great influence over Tiberius, which, according to Tacitus¹, he misused by doing his best to inflame the emperor's jealousy of Agrippina, when she won intense popularity with the army on the Rhine by supplying their necessities on their return from a victorious campaign against Arminius under her husband. "He had," says the historian, "a thorough insight into Tiberius's character, and sowed the seeds of hatred for a distant future." He was, in fact, a very far-sighted as well as a wicked intriguer—so we are to believe. People at Rome after a while rather feared and suspected him, and when there was a talk of an alliance between his house and the imperial family, and that the

¹ *Annals* i. 69.

daughter of the "man from Vulsinii" was about to wed the son of Claudius, Germanicus's brother and the future emperor, with Tiberius's approval, there were decided expressions of disgust. And yet from a subsequent incident related by Tacitus it would seem that Sejanus could not have been unpopular. Soon after the death of Germanicus, Junius Blaesus, his uncle, proconsul of Africa, for successfully suppressing a disturbance in that province, was allowed by Tiberius to receive the now unusual honour of being saluted "Imperator" by his soldiers. Blaesus was the last Roman officer who obtained this high distinction, and it was granted him, so Tacitus¹ says, out of compliment to his nephew, as the emperor himself publicly stated. This looks as if Sejanus then stood well in the popular estimation.

It was in A.D. 23, the ninth year of Tiberius's reign, that his ambitious designs unmistakeably declared themselves. He had begun in good earnest to grasp at the reality of power. All things at once, says Tacitus², went wrong, and "the emperor became a savage tyrant himself and an abettor of savage cruelty in others." This, he implies, was wholly due to the malign influence of Sejanus, who by this time had thoroughly discovered his weak points and wormed himself into his unbounded confidence. He was now city-prefect, an office which he promptly turned to profitable account for his own aims. He took the

¹ *Annals* III. 72.

² *Annals* IV. 1.

bold step of concentrating the praetorian cohorts, which numbered about ten thousand, hitherto dispersed in different barracks in the city and its neighbourhood, in one camp within the walls of Rome. This was an extreme measure, on which Augustus had never ventured, as the Roman citizen, like the Englishman, was averse to a strong military display under his own eyes, and trembled for his liberties. Sejanus, says Tacitus, dared this innovation with the object of overawing the citizens. It led to an important train of consequences, and the future power of the praetorians and their complete control of the empire may be distinctly traced to the policy of Tiberius' favourite minister. From this time the man seems to have seen his way to practically supplanting the emperor, and he deliberately set about it. His great obstacle was in the family of Germanicus, which was very popular at Rome, and seemed to have an undoubted right to supply heirs to the empire. How he planned and accomplished their ruin, Tacitus relates in detail, and it is needless for us here to repeat the story. It is true indeed that when he aspired to the hand of Livia, the sister of Germanicus and the widow of Tiberius's own son, Drusus, the emperor politely snubbed him, taking care however to explain his reasons very elaborately. Shortly after he had the good fortune to save that august life, which was all but prematurely destroyed by the fall of some rocks in a cave in the neighbourhood of Gaeta, and thenceforth he was looked on as a faithful and de-

voted servant, who had no thoughts of self. The emperor felt that he could leave Rome to his minister and bury himself, as he did in A.D. 29, in the seclusion of Capri, the little island first made famous by its association with his last years. Sejanus was now as grand as any oriental despot, and it was something for a Roman citizen to be able to say that one of the great man's hall-porters had smiled patronisingly on him.

How two years afterwards he fell, we should have known from Tacitus in detail but for the unfortunate gap in the Fifth Book of his Annals. It seems that the emperor himself had begun to distrust him, even while, with the dissimulation of which he was a proverbial master, he was adding to his honours, and even allowing him at last to become formally affianced to his own daughter-in-law Livia. Just before his fall he and the emperor were colleagues in the consulship. But when a letter full of the bitterest invectives against Agrippina and her son Nero came from the emperor's retirement, the Senate was much perplexed, and the people thronged round the Senate-house, fiercely exclaiming that the letter was a forgery. Of course they meant that it was the work of Sejanus. At the same time there was an ominous coolness about the emperor. He would not permit his favourite to pay a visit to his affianced bride, then staying with her father-in-law at Capri. He addressed a letter to the Senate in which he named him without giving him so much as one of his many

titles of honour. Sejanus, who knew him well, must have seen that the end was near, and thought that he might as well attempt a conspiracy against his life. It was disclosed by one of the conspirators, Satrius Secundus, to Antonia, the mother of Germanicus and the emperor's sister-in-law. At last the dangerous man was at his patron's mercy. Then came what Juvenal calls the "*verbosa et grandis epistola*¹" from Capri, which for a time mystified the Senate, till on finding that certain of Sejanus's well-known friends and adherents were pointed at for punishment, they soon divined its purport. Sudden and awful, and we may say deserved, was the destruction of the man to whom Tiberius mainly owes the infamy which has clung to his name. Strangled in the Mamertine dungeon and dragged to those Germanian stairs, leading to the Tiber, with which the readers of Tacitus are painfully familiar, his statues flung down and shivered to atoms, the great minister of state was followed up in his death by a furious mob, hooting him as "Caesar's enemy." There was immense popular excitement, and the prosecution and ruin of a host of his friends was a matter of course. It is a horrible story, and one shudders at the passage² in Tacitus, truly fearful in its directness of speech, which relates how his little girl, "ignorant of her crime and saying she would never do so again," was hurried off to execution.

State prosecutions arising out of Sejanus' fall,

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 71.

² *Annals* v. 9.

and the suicides of illustrious men, occupy a considerable portion of the Sixth Book. The episodes about the appearance of the phoenix and the relations between Rome and Parthia are a welcome relief amid these horrors. The Book concludes with Tiberius's choice of a successor, and with the historian's general estimate of his character.

CORNELII TACITI ANNALIUM

LIBER VI.

I. *Final retreat of Tiberius to Capreae.*

I. CN. DOMITIUS et Camillus Scribonianus consulatum inierant, cum Caesar, tramisso quod Capreas et Surrentum interluit freto, Campaniam praelegebat, ambiguus an urbem intraret, seu, quia contra destinauerat, speciem venturi simulans. Et saepe in propinqua degressus, aditis iuxta Tiberim hortis, saxa rursum et solitudinem maris repetiit, pudore scelerum et libidinum, quibus iam indomitis exarserat.

II, III. *Proceedings in the Senate against the memory of Livia and Sejanus. Togonius Gallus proposes to institute a body-guard of senators for the Emperor. Tiberius gently rebukes him and inveighs angrily against Gallio's interference with the Praetorians.*

II. At Romae principio anni, quasi recens cognitae Liviae flagitiis ac non pridem etiam punitis, atroces sententiae dicebantur, in effigies quoque ac memoriam eius, et bona Seiani ablata aerario ut in fiscum cogarentur, tamquam referret. Scipiones haec et Silani et Cassii, isdem ferme aut paulum immutatis

verbis, adseveratione multa censebant, cum repente Togonius Gallus, dum ignobilitatem suam magnis nominibus inserit, per deridiculum auditur. Nam principem orabat deligere senatores, ex quis viginti sorte ducti et ferro accincti, quotiens curiam inisset, salutem eius defenderent. Crediderat nimirum epistulae subsidio sibi alterum ex consulibus poscentis, ut tutus a Capreis urbem peteret. Tiberius tamen, ludibria seriis permiscere solitus, egit gratis benevolentiae patrum: sed quos omitti posse, quos deligi? semperne eosdem an subinde alios? et honoribus perfunctos an iuvenes, privatos an e magistratibus? quam deinde speciem fore sumentium in limine curiae gladios? neque sibi vitam tanti, si armis tegenda foret. Haec adversus Togonium verbis moderans, neque ultra abolitionem sententiae suadere.

III. At Iunium Gallionem, qui censuerat ut praetoriani actis stipendiis ius apiscerentur in quattuordecim ordinibus sedendi, violenter increpuit, velut coram rogitans, quid illi cum militibus, quos neque dicta [imperatoris] neque praemia nisi ab imperatore accipere par esset. Repperisse prorsus quod divus Augustus non providerit. An potius discordiam et seditionem a satellite Seiani quaesitam, qua rudes animos nomine honoris ad corrumpendum militiae morem propelleret? Hoc pretium Gallio meditatae adulationis tulit, statim curia, deinde Italia exactus; et quia incusabatur facile toleraturus exilium delecta Lesbo, insula nobili et amoena, retrahitur in urbem custoditurque domibus magistratuum. Isdem literis Caesar Sextium Paconianum praetorium perculit magno patrum gaudio, audacem, maleficum, omnium secreta rimantem delectumque ab Sciano cuius ope

dolus Gaio Caesari pararetur. Quod postquam patefactum, prorupere concepta pridem odia; et summum supplicium decernebatur, ni professus indicium foret.

IV. *Fall of Latiaris; quarrel of the ex-consuls.*

IV. Ut vero Latinius Latiarem ingressus est, accusator ac reus iuxta invisi gratissimum spectaculum praebebant. Latiaris, ut rettuli, praecipuus olim circumveniendi Titii Sabini et tunc luendae poenae primus fuit. Inter quae Haterius Agrippa consules anni prioris invasit, cur mutua accusatione intenta nunc silerent: metum prorsus et noxiam conscientiae pro foedere haberi; at non patribus reticenda quae audivissent. Regulus manere tempus ultionis, seque coram principe executurum; Trio aemulationem inter collegas et si qua discordes iecissent, melius obliterari respondit. Urgente Agrippa, Sanquinius Maximus e consularibus oravit senatum ne curas imperatoris conquisitis insuper acerbitatibus augerent: sufficere ipsum statuendis remediis. Sic Regulo salus et Trioni dilatio exitii quaesita. Haterius inuisior fuit, quia somno aut libidinis vigiliis marcidus, et ob segnitiam quamvis crudelem principem non metuens, inlustribus viris perniciem inter ganeam ac stupra meditabatur.

V. *Fruitless attempt to bring about the ruin of Cotta Messalinus.*

V. Exin Cotta Messalinus, saevissimae cuiusque sententiae auctor eoque inveterata invidia, ubi primum facultas data, arguitur pleraque; C. Caesarem cum die natali Augustae inter sacerdotes epularetur, novendialem eam cenam dixisse; querensque de potentia

M. Lepidi ac L. Arruntii, cum quibus ob rem pecuniariam disceptabat, addidisse : ‘illos quidem senatus, me autem tuebitur Tiberiolus meus.’ Quae cuncta a primoribus civitatis revincebatur, iisque instantibus ad imperatorem provocavit. Nec multo post litterae adferuntur, quibus in modum defensionis, repetito inter se atque Cottam amicitiae principio crebrisque eius officiis commemoratis, ne verba prave detorta neu convivalium fabularum simplicitas in crimen duceretur postulavit.

VI. *Tiberius' remarkable confession of guilt and remorse.*

VI. Insigne visum est earum Caesaris litterarum initium ; nam his verbis exorsus est : ‘quid scribam vobis, patres conscripti, aut quo modo scribam aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, di me deaque peius perdant quam perire me cotidie sentio, si scio.’ Adeo facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. Neque frustra praestantissimus sapientiae firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus, quando ut corpora verberibus, ita saevitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegebant quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse poenas fateretur.

VII. *Fall of Caccilianus, an informer. The universal prevalence of informations. Continued proceedings against the friends of Sejanus.*

VII. Tum facta patribus potestate statuendi de Cacciliano senatore, qui plurima adversum Cottam

prompserat, placitum eandem poenam inrogari quam in Aruseium et Sanquinium, accusatores L. Arruntii; quo non aliud honorificentius Cottae evenit, qui nobilis quidem, sed egens ob luxum, per flagitia infamis, sanctissimis Arruntii artibus dignitate ultionis aequabatur.

Q. Servaeus posthac et Minucius Thermus inducti, Servaeus praetura functus et quondam Germanici comes, Minucius equestri loco, modeste habita Seiani amicitia; unde illis maior miseratio. Contra Tiberius praecipuos ad scelera increpans admouuit C. Cestium patrem dicere senatui quae sibi scripsisset, suscepitque Cestius accusationem. Quod maxime exitiabile tulere illa tempora, cum primores senatus infimas etiam delationes exercerent, alii propalam, multi per occultum; neque discerneres alienos a coniunctis, amicos ab ignotis, quid repens aut vetustate obscurum: perinde in foro, in convivio, quaque de re locuti incusabantur, ut quis praevenire et reum destinare properat, pars ad subsidium sui, plures infecti quasi valetudine et contactu. Sed Minucius et Servaeus damnati indicibus accessere. Tractique sunt in casum eundem Iulius Africanus e Santonis Gallica civitate, Seius Quadratus: originem non repperi. Neque sum ignarus a plerisque scriptoribus omissa multorum pericula et poenas, dum copia fatiscunt aut, quae ipsis nimia et maesta fuerant, ne pari taedio lecturos adficerent verentur. Nobis pleraque digna cognitu obvenere, quamquam ab aliis incelebrata.

VIII. *Manly speech of M. Terentius avowing and excusing his intimacy with Sejanus, and pleading for the establishment of a distinction between those*

who had simply enjoyed the minister's friendship and those who had shared in his treasonable designs.

VIII. Nam ea tempestate, qua Seiani amicitiam ceteri falso exuerant, ausus est eques Romanus M. Terentius, ob id reus, amplecti, ad hunc modum apud senatum ordiendo: 'fortunae quidem meae fortasse minus expediat adgnosceere crimen quam abnuere. Sed utcumque casura res est, fatebor et fuisse me Seiano amicum, et ut essem expetisse, et postquam adeptus eram laetatum. Videram collegam patris regendis praetoriis cohortibus, mox urbis et militiae munia simul obeuntem. Illius propinqui et adfines honoribus augebantur; ut quisque Seiano intimus, ita ad Caesaris amicitiam validus: contra quibus infensus esset, metu ac sordibus conflictabantur. Nec quemquam exemplo adsumo: cunctos, qui novissimi consilii expertes fuimus, meo unius discrimine defendam. Non enim Seianum Vulsiniensem, sed Claudiae et Iuliae domus partem, quas adfinitate occupaverat, tuum, Caesar, generum, tui consulatus socium, tua officia in re publica capessentem colebamus. Non est nostrum aestimare quem supra ceteros et quibus de causis extollas; tibi summum rerum iudicium di dedere; nobis obsequii gloria relicta est. Spectamus porro quae coram habentur, cui ex te opes honores, quis plurima iuvandi nocendive potentia, quae Sciano fuisse nemo negaverit. Abditos principis sensus, et si quid occultius parat, exquirere illicitum, anceps: nec ideo adsequare. Ne, patres conscripti, ultimum Seiani diem, sed sedecim annos cogitaveritis. Etiam Satrinum atque Pomponium venerabamur; libertis quoque ac ianitoribus eius notescere pro magnifico

accipiebatur. Quid ergo? indistincta haec defensio et promisca dabitur; immo iustis terminis dividatur. Insidiae in rem publicam, consilia caedis adversum imperatorem puniantur: de amicitia et officiis idem finis et te, Caesar, et nos absolverit.'

IX, X. *Continued proceedings against accused persons both before the Senate and in the Emperor's own presence. Natural death of L. Piso, Pontifex.*

IX. Constantia orationis, et quia repertus erat qui efferret quae omnes animo agitabant, eo usque potuere, ut accusatores eius, additis quae ante deliquerant, exilio aut morte multarentur.

Secutae dehinc Tiberii litterae in Sex. Vestilium praetorium, quem Druso fratri percarum in cohortem suam transtulerat. Causa offensionis Vestilio fuit, seu composuerat quaedam in Caium Caesarem ut impudicum, sive ficto habita fides. Atque ob id convictu principis prohibitus cum senili manu ferrum temptavisset, obligat venas; precatusque per codicillos, immiti rescripto, venas resolvit. Acervatim ex eo Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, Scauro Mamerco simul ac Sabino Calvisio, maiestatis postulatur, et Vinicianus Pollioni patri adiciebatur, clari genus et quidam summis honoribus. Contremuerantque patres (nam quotus quisque adfinitatis aut amicitiae tot inlustrium virorum expers erat?), ni Celsus urbanae cohortis tribunus, tum inter indices, Appium et Calvisium discrimini exemisset. Caesar Pollionis ac Viniciani Scaurique causam, ut ipse cum senatu nosceret, distulit, datis quibusdam in Scaurum tristibus notis.

X. Ne feminae quidem exsortes periculi. Qua occupandae rei publicae argui non poterant, ob lacrimas incusabantur; necataque est anus Vitia, Fufii Gemini mater, quod filii necem flevisset. Haec apud senatum. Nec secus apud principem Vescularius Flaccus ac Iulius Marinus ad mortem aguntur, e vetustissimis familiarium, Rhodum secuti et apud Capreas individui, Vescularius insidiarum in Libonem internuntius; Marino partecipe Seianus Curtium Atticum oppreserat. Quo laetius acceptum sua exempla in consultores recidissee.

Per idem tempus L. Piso pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit, nullius servilis sententiae sponte auctor, et quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans. Patrem ei censorium fuisse memoravi; aetas ad octogesimum annum processit; decus triumphale in Thraecia meruerat. Sed praecipua ex eo gloria, quod praefectus urbi recens continuam potestatem et insolentia parendi graviolem mire temperavit.

XI. *Origin and history of the office of praetor urbanus.*

XI. Namque antea, profectis domo regibus ac mox magistratibus, ne urbs sine imperio foret, in tempus deligebatur qui ius redderet ac subitis mederetur; feruntque ab Romulo Dentrem Romulium, post ab Tullo Hostilio Numam Marcium et ab Tarquinio Superbo Spurium Lucretium inpositos. Dein consules mandabant; duratque simulacrum, quotiens ob ferias Latinas praeficitur qui consulare munus usurpet. Ceterum Augustus bellis civilibus Cilnium Maecenatem equestris ordinis cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam praeposuit: mox rerum potitus ob mag-

nitudinem populi ac tarda legum auxilia sumpsit e consularibus qui coerceret servitia et quod civium audacia turbidum, nisi vim metuat. Primusque Messalla Corvinus eam potestatem et paucos intra dies finem accepit, quasi nescius exercendi; tum Taurus Statilius, quamquam provecta aetate, egregie toleravit; dein Piso viginti per annos pariter probatus, publico funere ex decreto senatus celebratus est.

XII. *Proceedings in the Senate with reference to a supposed Sibylline book. The Emperor's decision on the matter.*

XII. Relatum inde ad patres a Quintiliano tribuno plebei de libro Sibyllae, quem Caninius Gallus quindecimvirum recipi inter ceteros eiusdem vatis et ea de re senatus consultum postulaverat. Quo per discessionem facto misit litteras Caesar, modice tribunum increpans ignarum antiqui moris ob iuventam. Gallo exprobrabat, quod scientiae caerimoniarumque vetus incerto auctore, ante sententiam collegii, non, ut adsolet, lecto per magistros aestimatoque carmine, apud infrequentem senatum egisset. Simul commonefecit, quia multa vana sub nomine celebri vulgabantur, sanxisse Augustum, quem intra diem ad praetorem urbanum deferrentur neve habere privatim liceret. Quod a maioribus quoque decretum erat post exustum sociali bello Capitolium, quaesitis Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam ac Siciliam et Italicas colonias, carminibus Sibyllae, una seu plures fuere, datoque sacerdotibus negotio, quantum humana ope potuissent, vera discernere. Igitur tunc quoque notioni quindecimvirum is liber subicitur.

XIII. *Disturbance in Rome caused by the dearness of bread.*

XIII. Isdem consulibus gravitate annonae iuxta seditionem ventum, multaque et plures per dies in theatro licentius efflagitata quam solitum adversum imperatorem. Quis commotus incusavit magistratus patresque, quod non publica auctoritate populum coercuissent, addiditque quibus ex provinciis et quanto maiorem quam Augustus rei frumentariae copiam advectaret. Ita castigandae plebi compositum senatus consultum prisca severitate, neque segnius consules edixere. Silentium ipsius non civile, ut crediderat, sed in superbiam accipiebatur.

XIV. *More charges of conspiracy, and ruin of several persons.*

XIV. Fine anni Geminius, Celsus, Pompeius, equites Romani, cecidere coniurationis crimine; ex quis Geminius prodigenter opum ac mollitia vitae amicus Seiano, nihil ad serium. Et Iulius Celsus tribunus in vinclis laxatam catenam et circumdatam in diversum tendens suam ipse cervicem perfregit. At Rubrio Fabato, tamquam desperatis rebus Romanis Parthorum ad misericordiam fugeret, custodes additi. Sane is repertus apud fretum Siciliae retractusque per centurionem nullas probabiles causas longinquae peregrinationis adferebat. Mansit tamen incolumis, oblivione magis quam clementia.

XV. *Marriages of Drusilla and Julia, daughters of Germanicus.*

XV. Ser. Galba L. Sulla consulibus diu quaesito quos neptibus suis maritos destinaret Caesar, post-

quam instabat virginum aetas, L. Cassium, M. Vinicium legit. Vinicio oppidanum genus: Calibus ortus, patre atque avo consularibus, cetera equestri familia erat, mitis ingenio et comptae facundiae. Cassius plebei Romae generis, verum antiqui honoratique, et severa patris disciplina eductus facilitate saepius quam industria commendabatur. Huic Drusillam, Vinicio Iuliam Germanico genitas coniungit superque ea re senatui scribit, levi cum honore iuvenum. Dein, redditis absentiae causis admodum vagis, flexit ad graviora et offensiones ob rem publicam coeptas, utque Macro praefectus tribunorumque et centurionum pauci secum introirent, quotiens curiam ingrederetur, petivit. Factoque large et sine praescriptione generis aut numeri senatus consulto ne tecta quidem urbis, adeo publicum consilium numquam adiit, deviis plerumque itineribus ambigans patriam et declinans.

XVI, XVII. *Proceedings under the Usury Laws. General distress caused by their revival and alleviated by the liberal help of the Emperor.*

XVI. Interea magna vis accusatorum in eos inrupit, qui pecunias fenore auctitabant adversum legem dictatoris Caesaris, qua de modo credendi possidendique intra Italiam cavetur, omissam olim, quia privato usui bonum publicum postponitur. Sane vetus urbi fenebre malum et seditio num discordiarumque creberrima causa, eoque cohibebatur antiquis quoque et minus corruptis moribus. Nam primo duodecim tabulis sanctum, ne quis unciario fenore amplius exerceret, cum antea ex libidine locupletium agitaretur; dein rogatione tribunicia ad semuncias redactum, postremo vetita versura. Multisque plebis scitis obviam

itum fraudibus, quae totiens repressae miras per artes rursum oriebantur. Sed tum Gracchus praetor, cui ea quaestio evenerat, multitudine periclitantium subactus rettulit ad senatum, trepidique patres (neque enim quisquam tali culpa vacuus) veniam a principe petivere: et concedente annus in posterum sexque menses dati, quis secundum iussa legis rationes familiares quisque componerent.

XVII. Hinc inopia rei nummariae, commoto simul omnium aere alieno, et quia tot damuatis bonisque eorum divenditis signatum argentum fisco vel aerario attinebatur. Ad hoc senatus praescripserat, duas quisque fenoris partes in agris per Italiam conlocaret. Sed creditores in solidum appellabant, nec decorum appellatis minuire fidem. Ita primo concursatio et preces; dein strepere praetoris tribunal, eaque quae remedio quaesita, venditio et emptio, in contrarium mutari, quia feneratores omnem pecuniam mercandis agris condiderant. Copiam vendendi secuta vilitate, quanto quis obaeratio, aegrius distrahebant, multique fortunis provolvebantur; eversio rei familiaris dignitatem ac famam praeceps dabat, donec tulit opem Caesar disposito per mensas milies sestertio factaque mutuandi copia sine usuris per triennium, si debitor populo in duplum praediis cavisset. Sic refecta fides, et paulatim privati quoque creditores reperti. Neque emptio agrorum exercita ad formam senatus consulti, acerbis ut ferme talia, initiis, incurioso fine.

XVIII, XIX. *Renewal of the accusations. General massacre of such of the friends of Sejanus as still were left in prison. The horrors of the time.*

XVIII. Dein redeunt priores metus postulato

maiestatis Considio Proculo, qui, nullo pavore diem natalem, celebrans raptus in curiam pariterque damnatus interfectusque est. Sorori eius Sanciae aqua atque igni interdictum, accusante Q. Pomponio. Is moribus inquires haec et huiusce modi a se factitari praetendebat, ut parta apud principem gratia periculis Pompouii Secundi fratris mederetur. Etiam in Pompeiam Macrinam exilium statuitur, cuius maritum Argolicum, socerum Laconem, e primoribus Achaeorum Caesar adflixerat. Pater quoque inlustris eques Romanus ac frater praetorius, cum damnatio instaret, se ipsi interfecere. Datum erat crimini, quod Theophanen Mytilenaeum proavum eorum Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset, quodque defuncto Theophani caelestes honores Graeca adulatio tribuerat.

XIX. Post quos Sex. Marius Hispaniarum ditissimus saxo Tarpeio deicitur. Ac ne dubium haberetur magnitudinem pecuniae malo vertisse, avaras eius, quamquam publicarentur, sibimet Tiberius seposuit. Inritatusque suppliciis cunctos, qui carcere attinebantur accusati societatis cum Seiano, necari iubet. Iacuit immensa strages, omnis sexus, omnis aetas, inlustres ignobiles, dispersi aut aggerati. Neque propinquis aut amicis adsistere, inlacrimare, ne visere quidem diutius dabatur, sed circumiecti custodes et in maerorem cuiusque intenti corpora putrefacta adsectabantur, dum in Tiberim traherentur, ubi fluitantia aut ripis adpulsa non cremare quisquam, non contingere. Interciderat sortis humanae commercium vi metus, quantumque saevitia glisceret, miseratio arcebatur.

xx. *Marriage of C. Caesar (Caligula). His character. The reign of Galba predicted by Tiberius. The Emperor's addiction to astrology.*

XX. Sub idem tempus Caius Caesar, discedenti Capreas avo comes, Claudiam, M. Silani filiam, coniugio accepit, immanem animum subdola modestia tegens, non damnatione matris, non exitio fratrum rupta voce; qualem diem Tiberius induisset, pari habitu, haud multum distantibus verbis. Unde mox scitum Passieni oratoris dictum percerebuit, neque meliorem unquam servum neque deteriorem dominum fuisse.

Non omiserim praesagium Tiberii de Servio Galba tum consule; quem accitum et diversis sermonibus pertemptatum postremo Graecis verbis in hanc sententiam adlocutus 'et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium,' seram ac brevem potentiam significans, scientia Chaldaeorum artis, cuius apiscendae otium apud Rhodum, magistrum Thrasillum habuit, peritiam eius hoc modo expertus.

xxi. *Story of the astrologer Thrasyllus.*

XXI. Quotiens super tali negotio consultaret, edita domus parte ac liberti unius conscientia utebatur. Is litterarum ignarus, corpore valido, per avia ac disrupta (nam saxis domus imminet) praecipitabat eum, cuius artem experiri Tiberius statuisset, et regredientem, si vanitatis aut fraudum suspicio incesserat, in subiectum mare praecipitabat, ne index arcani existeret. Igitur Thrasillus isdem rupibus inductus postquam percontantem commoverat, imperium ipsi et futura sollerter patefaciens, interrogatur an suam quoque genitalem

horam comperisset, quem tum annum, qualem diem haberet. Ille positus siderum ac spatia dimensus haerere primo, dein pavescere, et quantum introspiceret, magis ac magis trepidus admirationis et metus, postremo exclamat ambiguum sibi ac prope ultimum discrimen instare. Tum complexus eum Tiberius praescium periculorum et incolumem fore gratatur, quaeque dixerat oraculi vice accipiens inter intimos amicorum tenet.

XXII. *Views of the historian on the subject of fate and of the possibility of foretelling the future.*

XXII. Sed mihi haec ac talia audienti in incerto iudicium est, fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili an forte volvantur. Quippe sapientissimos veterum, quique sectam eorum aemulantur, diversos reperies; ac multis insitam opinionem non initia nostri, non finem, non denique homines dis curae; ideo creberrime tristia in bonos, laeta apud deteriores esse; contra alii fatum quidem congruere rebus putant, sed non e vagis stellis, verum apud principia et nexus naturalium causarum; ac tamen electionem vitae nobis relinquunt, quam ubi elegeris, certum imminetium ordinem. Neque mala vel bona quae vulgus putet: multos, qui conflictari adversis videantur, beatos, at plerosque quamquam magnas per opes miserrimos, si illi gravem fortunam constanter tolerant, hi prospera inconsulte utantur. Ceterum plurimis mortalium non eximitur, quin primo cuiusque ortu ventura destinentur, sed quaedam secus quam dicta sint cadere, fallaciis ignara dicentium: ita corrumpi fidem artis, cuius clara documenta et antiqua aetas et nostra tulerit. Quippe a filio eiusdem Thrasulli praedictum Neronis impe-

rium in tempore memorabitur, ne nunc incepto longius abierim.

XXIII. *Death of Asinius Gallus and of Drusus the Emperor's grandson.*

XXIII. Isdem consulibus Asinii Galli mors vulgar, quem egestate cibi peremptum haud dubium, sponte vel necessitate, incertum habebatur. Consul-tusque Caesar an sepeliri sineret, non erubuit permit-tere ultroque incusare casus, qui reum abstulissent, antequam coram convinceretur. Scilicet medio triennio defuerat tempus subeundi iudicium consulari seni, tot consularium parenti. Drusus deinde exstinguitur, cum se miserandis alimentis, mandendo e cubili to-mento, nonum ad diem detinuisset. Tradidere quidam praescriptum fuisse Macroni, si arma ab Seiano temp-tarentur, extractum custodiae invenem (nam in Palatio attinebatur) ducem populo imponere. Mox, quia rumor incedebat fore ut nuru ac nepoti conciliaretur Caesar, saevitiam quam paenitentiam maluit.

XXIV. *Terrible revelations of the treatment of the deceased prince.*

XXIV. Quin et invectus in defunctum exitia-bilem in suos, infensum rei publicae animum obicit recitarique factorum dictorumque eius descripta per dies iussit, quo non aliud atrocius visum. Adstitisse tot per annos qui vultum, gemitus, occultum etiam murmur exciperent, et potuisse avum audire, legere, in publicum promere vix fides, nisi quod Attii cen-turionis et Didymi liberti epistulae servorum nomina praeferebant, ut quis egredientem cubiculo Drusum pulsaverat, exterruerat. Etiam sua verba centurio sae-

vitiae plena, tamquam egregium, vocesque deficientis adiecerat, quis primo alienationem mentis simulans quasi per dementiam funesta Tiberio, mox, ubi expes vitae fuit, meditatae compositaeque diras inprecabatur, ut quem ad modum nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes domumque omnem caedibus complevisset, ita poenas nomini generique maiorum et posteris exsolveret. Obturbabant quidem patres specie detestandi: sed penetrabat pavor et admiratio, callidum olim et tegendis sceleribus obscurum huc confidentiae venisse, ut tamquam dimotis parietibus ostenderet nepotem sub verberare centurionis, inter servorum ictus, extrema vitae alimenta frustra orantem.

xxv. *Death of Agrippina.*

XXV. Nondum is dolor exoleverat, cum de Agrippina auditum, quam interfecto Seiano spe sustentatam provixisse reor, et postquam nihil de saevitia remittebatur, voluntate extinctam, nisi si negatis alimentis adsimulatus est finis, qui videretur sponte sumptus. Enimvero Tiberius foedissimis criminationibus exarsit, impudicitiam arguens et Asinium Gallum adulterum, eiusque morte ad taedium vitae compulsam. Sed Agrippina aequi inpatiens, dominandi avida, virilibus curis feminarum vitia exuerat. Eodem die defunctam, quo biennio ante Seianus poenas lisset, memoriaeque id prodendum addidit Caesar, iactavitque quod non laqueo strangulata neque in Gemonias proiecta foret. Actae ob id grates decretumque ut quintum decimum kal. Novembris, utriusque necis die, per omnis annos donum Iovi sacraretur.

XXVI. *Suicide of Cocceius Nerva, one of the Emperor's friends. Death of Plancina, wife of Piso, the suspected murderer of Germanicus.*

XXVI. Haud multo post Cocceius Nerva, continuus principis, omnis divini humanique iuris sciens, integro statu, corpore inlaeso, moriendi consilium cepit. Quod ut Tiberio cognitum, adsidere, causas requirere, addere preces, fateri postremo grave conscientiae, grave famae suae, si proximus amicorum nullis moriendi rationibus vitam fugeret. Aversatus sermonem Nerva abstinentiam cibi coniunxit. Ferebant gnari cogitationum eius, quanto propius mala rei publicae viseret, ira et metu, dum integer, dum intemptatus, honestum finem voluisse.

Ceterum Agrippinae perniciēs, quod vix credibile, Plancinam traxit. Nupta olim Cn. Pisoni et palam lacta morte Germanici, cum Piso caderet, precibus Augustae nec minus inimiciis Agrippinae defensa erat. Ut odium et gratia desiere, ius valuit; petitaque criminibus haud ignotis, sua manu sera magis quam inmerita supplicia persolvit.

XXVII. *Marriage of Julia (niece of Tiberius) to Rubellius Blandus. Death of Aelius Lamia, Flaccus Pomponius, and Marcus Lepidus.*

XXVII. Tot luctibus funesta civitate pars maeroris fuit, quod Iulia Drusi filia, quondam Neronis uxor, denupsit in domum Rubellii Blandi, cuius avum Tiburtem equitem Romanum plerique meminerant. Extremo anni mors Aelii Lamiae funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandae Suriae imagine tandem exsolutus urbi praefuerat. Genus illi decorum, vivida

senectus; et non permissa provincia dignationem addiderat. Exim Flacco Pomponio Suriae pro praetore defuncto recitantur Caesaris literae, quis incubabat egregium quemque et regendis exercitibus idoneum abnuere id munus, seque ea necessitudine ad preces cogi, per quas consularium aliqui capessere provincias adigerentur, oblitus Arruntium, ne in Hispaniam pergeret, decumum iam annum attineri. Obiit eodem anno et M. Lepidus, de cuius moderatione atque sapientia in prioribus libris satis conlocavi. Neque nobilitas diutius demonstranda est: quippe Aemilium genus fecundum bonorum civium, et qui eadem familia corruptis moribus, inlustri tamen fortuna egere.

XXVIII. *Account of the Phoenix.*

XXVIII. Paulo Fabio L. Vitellio consulibus post longum saeculorum ambitum avis phoenix in Aegyptum venit, praebuitque materiem doctissimis indigenarum et Graecorum multa super eo miraculo disserendi. De quibus congruunt, et plura ambigua, sed cognitu non absurda, promere libet. Sacrum Soli id animal, et ore ac distinctu pinnarum a ceteris avibus diversum consentiunt qui formam eius effinxere: de numero annorum varia traduntur. Maxime vulgatum quingentorum spatium: sunt qui adseverent mille quadringentos sexaginta unum interici, prioresque alios tres Sesoside primum, post Amaside dominantibus, dein Ptolemaeo, qui ex Macedonibus tertius regnavit, in civitatem cui Heliopolis nomen advolavisse, multo ceterarum volucrum comitatu novam faciem mirantium. Sed antiquitas quidem obscura: inter Ptolemaeum ac Tiberium minus ducenti quin-

quaginta anni fuerunt. Unde non nulli falsum hunc phoenicem neque Arabum e terris credidere, nihilque usurpavisse ex iis, quae vetus memoria firmavit. Confecto quippe annorum numero, ubi mors propinquet, suis in terris struere nidum eique vim genitalem adfundere, ex qua fetum oriri; et primam adulto curam sepeliendi patris, neque id temere, sed sublato murrae pondere temptatoque per longum iter, ubi par oneri, par meatui sit, subire patrium corpus inque Solis aram perferre atque adolere. Haec incerta et fabulosis aucta: ceterum aspici aliquando in Aegypto eam volucrem non ambigitur.

XXIX. *Suicide of Pomponius Labco and Mamercus Scaurus. The reasons which made suicide so frequent.*

XXIX. At Romae caede continua Pomponius Labco, quem praefuisse Moesiae rettuli, per abruptas venas sanguinem effudit; aemulataque est coniunx Paxaea. Nam promptas eius modi mortes metus carnificis faciebat, et quia damnati publicatis bonis sepultura prohibebantur, eorum qui de se statuebant humabantur corpora, manebant testamenta, pretium festinandi. Sed Caesar missis ad senatum literis disseruit morem fuisse maioribus, quotiens dirimerent amicitias, interdicare domo cumque finem gratiae ponere: id se repetivisse in Labeone, atque illum, quia male administratae provinciae aliorumque criminum arguebatur, culpam invidia velavisse, frustra conterrita uxore, quam etsi nocentem periculi tamen expertem fuisse. Mamercus dein Scaurus rursus postulatur, insignis nobilitate et orandis causis, vita probrosus. Nihil hunc amicitia Seiani, sed labefecit

haud minus validum ad exitia Macronis odium, qui easdem artes occultius exercebat; detuleratque argumentum tragoediae a Scauro scriptae, additis versibus qui in Tiberium flecterentur. Verum ab Servilio et Cornelio accusatoribus adulterium Liviae, magorum sacra obiectabantur. Scaurus, ut dignum veteribus Aemiliis, damnationem anteit, hortante Sextia uxore, quae incitamentum mortis et particeps fuit.

xxx. *Punishment of unsuccessful informers. Bold attitude assumed by Lentulus Gaetulicus, commander of the army of Upper Germany.*

XXX. Ac tamen accusatores, si facultas incideret, poenis adiciebantur, ut Servilius Corneliusque perditio Scauro famosi, quia pecuniam a Vario Ligure omittendae delationis ceperant, in insulas interdicto igni atque aqua demoti sunt. Et Abudius Ruso functus aedilitate dum Lentulo Gaetulico, sub quo legioni praefuerat, periculum facessit, quod is Seiani filium generum destinasset, ultro damnatur atque urbe exigitur. Gaetulicus ea tempestate superioris Germaniae legiones curabat mirumque amorem adsecutus erat, effusae clementiae, modicus severitate et proximo quoque exercitui per L. Apronium socerum non ingratus. Unde fama constans ausum mittere ad Caesarem literas, adfinitatem sibi cum Seiano haud sponte sed consilio Tiberii coeptam; perinde se quam Tiberium falli potuisse, neque errorem eundem illi sine fraude, aliis exitio habendum. Sibi fidem integram et, si nullis insidiis peteretur, mansuram; successorem non aliter quam indicium mortis accepturum. Firmarent velut foedus, quo princeps ceterarum rerum poteretur, ipse provinciam re-

tineret. Haec, mira quamquam, fidem ex eo trahebant, quod unus omnium Sciani adfinium incolumis multaque gratia mansit, reputante Tiberio publicum sibi odium, extremam aetatem magisque fama quam vi stare res suas.

XXXI, XXXII. *Mission of disaffected Parthian nobles to Rome. Phraates sent by Tiberius as a rival claimant to the throne. His death in Syria. Tiridates succeeds to his position. Character of L. Vitellius.*

XXXI. C. Cestio M. Servilio consulibus nobiles Parthi in urbem venere, ignaro rege Artabano. Is metu Germanici fidus Romanis, aequabilis in suos, mox superbiam in nos, saevitiam in populares sumpsit, fretus bellis, quae secunda adversum circumiectas nationes exercuerat, et senectutem Tiberii ut inermem despiciens, avidusque Armeniae, cui defuncto rege Artaxia Arsacen liberorum suorum veterrimum inposuit, addita contumelia et missis qui gazam a Vonone relictam in Suria Ciliciaque reposcerent; simul veteres Persarum ac Macedonum terminos, seque invasurum possessa primum Cyro et post Alexandro per vaniloquentiam ac minas iaciebat. Sed Parthis mittendi secretos nuntios validissimus auctor fuit Sinnaces, insigni familia ac perinde opibus, et proximus huic Abdus ademptae virilitatis. Non despectum id apud barbaros ultroque potentiam habet. Ii adscitis et aliis primoribus, quia neminem gentis Arsacidarum summae rei inponere poterant, interfectis ab Artabano plerisque aut nondum adultis, Phraaten regis Phraatis filium Roma poscebant: nomine tan-

tum et auctore opus, ut sponte Caesaris, ut genus Arsacis ripam apud Euphratis cerneretur.

XXXII. Cupitum id Tiberio: ornat Phraaten accingitque paternum ad fastigium, destinata retinens, consiliis et astu res externas moliri, arma procul habere. Interea cognitis insidiis Artabanus tardari metu, modo cupidine vindictae inardescere. Et barbaris cunctatio servilis, statim exsequi regium videtur: valuit tamen utilitas, ut Abdum specie amicitiae vocatum ad epulas lento veneno inligaret, Sinnacem dissimulatione ac donis, simul per negotia moraretur. Et Phraates apud Syriam dum omisso cultu Romano, cui per tot annos insueverat, instituta Parthorum sumit, patriis moribus impar morbo absumptus est. Sed non Tiberius omisit incepta: Tiridatem sanguinis eiusdem aemulum Artabano, reciperandaeque Armeniae Hiberum Mithridaten deligit, conciliatque fratri Pharasmani, qui gentile imperium obtinebat; et cunctis quae apud orientem parabantur L. Vitellium praefecit. Eo de homine haud sum ignarus sinistram in urbe famam, pleraque foeda memorari, ceterum regendis provinciis prisca virtute egit. Unde regressus et formidine C. Caesaris, familiaritate Claudii turpe in servitium mutatus exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur, cesseruntque prima postremis, et bona iuventae senectus flagitiosa obliteravit.

XXXIII.—XXXVII. *War between Tiridates and Artabanus, king of Parthia, ending in the flight of the latter.*

XXXIII. At ex regulis prior Mithridates Pharasmanem perpulit dolo et vi conatus suos iuvare,

reperitque corruptores ministros Arsacis multo auro ad scelus cogunt; simul Hiberi magnis copiis Armeniam inrumpunt et urbe Artaxata potiuntur. Quae postquam Artabano cognita, filium Oroden ultorem parat; dat Parthorum copias, mittit qui auxilia mercede facerent: contra Pharasmanes adiungere Albanos, accire Sarmatas, quorum sceptuchi utrimque donis acceptis more gentico diversa induere. Sed Iberi locorum potentes Caspia via Sarmatam in Armenios raptim effundunt. At qui Parthis adventabant, facile arcebantur, cum alios incessus hostis clausisset, unum reliquum mare inter et extremos Albanorum montes aestas impediret, quia flatibus etesiarum implentur vada: hibernus auster revolvit fluctus pulsoque introrsus freto brevia litorum nudantur.

XXXIV. Interim Oroden sociorum inopem auctus auxilio Pharasmanes vocare ad pugnam et detrectantem incessere, adequitare castris, infensare pabula; ac saepe in modum obsidii stationibus cingebat, donec Parthi contumeliarum insolentes circumsisterent regem, poscerent proelium. Atque illis sola in equite vis: Pharasmanes et pedite valebat. Nam Iberi Albanique saltuosos locos incolentes duritiae patientiaeque magis insuevere; feruntque se Thessalis ortos, qua tempestate Iaso post avectam Medeam genitosque ex ea liberos inanem mox regiam Aeetae vacuosque Colchos repetivit. Multaque de nomine eius et oraculum Phrixi celebrant; nec quisquam ariete sacrificaverit, credito vexisse Phrixum, sive id animal seu navis insigne fuit. Ceterum directa utrimque acie Parthus imperium orientis, claritudinem Arsacidarum contraque ignobilem Iberum mercenario milite disserebat; Pharasmanes integros semet a Parthico

dominatu, quanto maiora peterent, plus decoris victores aut, si terga darent, flagitii atque periculi laturos; simul horridam suorum aciem, picta auro Medorum agmina, hinc viros, inde praedam ostendere.

XXXV. Enimvero apud Sarmatas non una vox ducis: se quisque stimulant ne pugnam per sagittas sinerent: impetu et comminus praeveniendum. Varias hinc bellantium species, cum Parthus sequi vel fugere pari arte suetus distraheret turmas, spatium ictibus quaereret, Sarmatae omisso arcu, quo brevius valent, contis gladiisque ruerent; modo equestris proelii more frontis et tergi vices, aliquando ut conserta acies corporibus et pulsu armorum pellerent pellerentur. Iamque et Albani Iberique prensare, detrudere, anticipem pugnam hostibus facere, quos super eques et propioribus vulneribus pedites adflictabant. Inter quae Pharasmanes Orodesque, dum strenuis adsunt aut dubitantibus subveniunt, conspicui eoque gnari, clamore telis equis concurrunt, instantius Pharasmanes; nam vulnus per galeam adegit. Nec iterare valuit, praelatus equo et fortissimis satellitum protegentibus saucium: fama tamen occisi falso credita exterruit Parthos victoriamque concessere.

XXXVI. Mox Artabanus tota mole regni ultimum iit. Peritia locorum ab Iberis melius pugnatum; nec ideo abscedebat, nisi contractis legionibus Vitellius et subdito rumore, tamquam Mesopotamiam invasurus, metum Romani belli fecisset. Tum omissa Armenia versaeque Artabani res, inciente Vitellio desererent regem saevum in pace et adversis proeliorum exitiosum. Igitur Sinnaces, quem antea infensum memoravi, patrem Abdagesen aliosque occultos consilii et

tunc continuis eladibus promptiores ad defectionem trahit, adfluentibus paulatim qui metu magis quam benevolentia subiecti repertis auctoribus sustulerant animum. Nec iam aliud Artabano reliquum quam si qui externorum corpori custodes aderant, suis quisque sedibus extorres, quis neque boni intellectus neque mali cura, sed mercede aluntur ministri sceleribus. His adsumptis in longinqua et contermina Seythiae fugam maturavit, spe auxilii, quia Hyrcanis Carmaniisque per adfinitatem ianexus erat: atque interim posse Parthos absentium aequos, praesentibus mobiles, ad paenitentiam mutari.

XXXVII. At Vitellius profugo Artabano et flexis ad novum regem popularium animis, hortatus Tiridaten parata capessere, robur legionum sociorumque ripam ad Euphratis ducit. Sacrificantibus, cum hic more Romano suovetaurilia daret, ille equum placando anni adornasset, nuntiavere accolae Euphraten nulla imbrium vi sponte et immensum attolli, simul albescentibus spumis in modum diadematis sinuare orbes, auspicium prosperi transgressus. Quidam callidius interpretabantur, initia conatus secunda neque diuturna, quia eorum quae terra caelove portenderentur certior fides, fluminum instabilis natura simul ostenderet omnia raperetque. Sed ponte navibus effecto transissoque exercitu primus Ornospades multis equitum milibus in castra venit, exul quondam et Tiberio, cum Delmaticum bellum conficeret, haud inglorius auxiliator eoque civitate Romana donatus, mox repetita amicitia regis multo apud eum honore, praefectus campis qui Euphrate et Tigre inclutis annibus circumflui Mesopotamiae nomen acceperunt. Neque multo post Sinnaces auget copias, et columnen

partium Abdageses gazam et paratus regios adicit. Vitellius ostentasse Romana arma satis ratus monet Tiridaten primoresque, hunc, Phraatis avi et altoris Caesaris quaeque utrobique pulchra meminerit, illos, obsequium in regem, reverentiam in nos, decus quisque suum et fidem retinerent. Exin cum legionibus in Syriam remeavit.

XXXVIII.—XL. *Suicides and executions at Rome.*

XXXVIII. Quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi, quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis. Non enim Tiberium, quamquam triennio post caedem Seiani, quae ceteros mollire solent, tempus preces satias mitigabant, quin incerta vel abolita pro gravissimis et recentibus puniret. Eo metu Fulcinus Trio, ingruentis accusatores haud perpessus, supremis tabulis multa et atrocia id Macronem ac praecipuos libertorum Caesaris composuit, ipsi fluxam senio mentem et continuo abscessu velut exilium obiectando. Quae ab heredibus occultata recitari Tiberius iussit, patientiam libertatis alienae ostentans et contemptor suae infamiae, an scelerum Seiani diu nescius mox quoquo modo dicta vulgari malebat veritatisque, cui adulatio officit, per probra saltem gnarus fieri. Isdem diebus Granius Marcianus senator, a C. Graccho maiestatis postulatus, vim vitae suae attulit, Tariusque Gratianus praetura functus lege eadem extremum ad supplicium damnatus.

XXXIX. Nec disparēs Trebellieni Rufi et Sextii Paconiani exitus : nam Trebellienus sua manu cecidit, Paconianus in carcere ob carmina illic in principem factitata strangulatus est. Haec Tiberius non mari, ut olim, divisus neque per longinquos nuntios accipiebat,

sed urbem iuxta, eodem ut die vel noctis interiectu literis consulum rescriberet, quasi aspiciens undantem per domos sanguinem aut manus carnificum. Fine anni Poppaeus Sabinus concessit vita, modicus originis, principum amicitia consulatum ac triumphale decus adeptus maximisque provinciis per quattuor et viginti annos inpositus, nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis neque supra erat.

XL. Q. Plautius Sex. Papinius consules sequuntur. Eo anno neque quod L. Aruseius * * * morte adfecti forent, adsuetudine malorum ut atrox advertebatur, sed exterruit quod Vibulenus Agrippa eques Romanus, cum perorassent accusatores, in ipsa curia depromptum sinu venenum hausit, prolapsusque ac moribundus festinatis lictorum manibus in carcerem raptus est, faucesque iam exanimis laqueo vexatae. Ne Tigranes quidem, Armenia quondam potitus ac tunc reus, nomine regio supplicia civium effugit. At C. Galba consularis et duo Blaesi voluntario exitu cecidere, Galba tristibus Caesaris literis provinciam sortiri prohibitus: Blaesis sacerdotia, integra eorum domo destinata, convulsa distulerat, tunc ut vacua contulit in alios, quod signum mortis intellexere et exsecuti sunt. Et Aemilia Lepida, quam iuveni Druso nuptam rettuli, crebris criminibus maritum insectata, quamquam intestabilis, tamen impunita agebat, dum superfuit pater Lepidus: post a delatoribus corripitur ob servum adulterum, nec dubitabatur de flagitio. Ergo omissa defensione finem vitae sibi posuit.

XLI.—XLIV. *Revolt and subjugation of the Clitae, a Cappadocian tribe. Political changes in Parthia. Tiridates is crowned at Ctesiphon. Artabanus re-*

turns from his exile in Hyrcania, and Tiridates, abandoned by his followers, seeks refuge in Syria.

XLI. Per idem tempus Clitarum natio Cappadoci Archelao subiecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebatur, in iuga Tauri montis abcessit locorumque ingenio sese contra imbelles regis copias tutabatur, donec M. Trebellius legatus, a Vitellio praeside Suriae cum quattuor milibus legionariorum et delectis auxiliis missus, duos collis, quos barbari insederant (minori Cadra, alteri Davara nomen est), operibus circumdedit et erumpere ausos ferro, ceteros siti ad deditionem coegit.

At Tiridates volentibus Parthis Nicephorium et Anthemusiada ceterasque urbes, quae Macedonibus sitae Graeca vocabula usurpant, Halumque et Artemitam Parthica oppida recepit, certantibus gaudio qui Artabanum Scythas inter eductum ob saevitiam execrati come Tiridatis ingenium Romanas per artes sperabant.

XLII. Plurimum adulationis Seleucenses induere, civitas potens, saepta muris neque in barbarum corrupta, sed conditoris Seleuci retinens. Trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti ut senatus, sua populo vis. Et quotiens concordēs agunt, spernitur Parthus: ubi dissensere, dum sibi quisque contra aemulos subsidium vocant, accitus in partem adversum omnes valet. Id nuper acciderat Artabano regnante, qui plebem primoribus tradidit ex suo usu: nam populi imperium iuxta libertatem, paucorum dominatio regiae libidini propior est. Tum adventantem Tiridaten extollunt veterum regum honoribus et quos recens aetas largius invenit; simul probra in Artabanum fundebant, ma-

terna origine Arsaciden, cetera degenerem. Tiridates rem Seleucensem populo permittit. Mox consultans, quonam die sollemnia regni capesseret, litteras Phraatis et Hieronis, qui validissimas praefecturas optinebant, accipit, brevem moram precantium. Placitumque opperiri viros praepollentis, atque interim Ctesiphon sedes imperii petita : sed ubi diem ex die prolatabant, multis coram et adprobantibus Surena patrio more Tiridaten insigni regio evinxit.

XLIII. Ac si statim interiora ceterasque nationes petivisset, oppressa cunctantium dubitatio et omnes in unum cedebant : adsidendo castellum, in quod pecuniam et pellices Artabanus contulerat, dedit spatium exuendi pacta. Nam Phraates et Hiero et si qui alii delectum capiendo diademati diem haud concelebraverant, pars metu, quidam invidia in Abdagesen, qui tum aula et novo rege potiebatur, ad Artabanum vertere ; isque in Hyrcanis repertus est, inluvie obsitus et alimenta arcu expediens. Ac primo tamquam dolus pararetur, territus, ubi data fides reddendae dominationi venisse, adlevatur animum et quae repentina mutatio exquirat. Tum Hiero pueritiam Tiridatis increpat, neque penes Arsaciden imperium, sed inane nomen apud inbellem externa molitia, vim in Abdagesis domo.

XLIV. Sensit vetus regnandi falsos in amore odia non fingere. Nec ultra moratus, quam dum Scytharum auxilia conciret, pergit properus et praeveniens inimicorum astus, amicorum paenitentiam ; neque exuerat paedorem, ut vulgum miseratione adverteret. Non frans, non preces, nihil omissum quo ambiguos inliceret, prompti firmarentur. Iamque multa manu propinquans Seleucia adventabat, cum

Tiridates simul fama atque ipso Artabano percussus distrahi consiliis, iret contra an bellum cunctatione tractaret. Quibus proelium et festinati casus placebant, disiectos et longinquitate itineris fessos ne animo quidem satis ad obsequium coaluisse disserunt, proditores nuper hostesque eius, quem rursus foveant. Verum Abdageses regrediendum in Mesopotamiam censebat, ut amne obiecto, Armeniis interim Elymaeisque et ceteris a tergo excitis, aucti copiis socialibus et quas dux Romanus misisset fortunam temptarent. Ea sententia valuit, quia plurima auctoritas penes Abdagesen et Tiridates ignavus ad pericula erat. Sed fugae specie discessum; ac principio a gente Arabum facto ceteri domos abeunt vel in castra Artabani, donec Tiridates cum paucis in Syriam revectus pudore proditiones omnes exsolvit.

XLV. *Conflagration at Rome. The Emperor's liberality.*

XLV. Idem annus gravi igne urbem adficit, deusta parte circi, quae Aventino contigua, ipsoque Aventino; quod damnum Caesar ad gloriam vertit exsolutis domuum et insularum pretiis. Milies sestertium in munificentia ea conlocatum, tanto acceptius in vulgum, quanto modicus privatis aedificationibus ne publice quidem nisi duo opera struxit, templum Augusto et scenam Pompeiani theatri; eaque perfecta, contemptu ambitionis an per senectutem, haud dedicavit. Sed aestimando cuiusque detrimento quattuor progeneri Caesaris, Cn. Domitius, Cassius Longinus, M. Vinicius, Rubellius Blandus delecti additusque nominatione consulum P. Petronius. Et pro ingenio cuiusque quaesiti decretique in prin-

cipem honores; quos omiserit receperitve, in incerto fuit ob propinquum vitae finem. Neque enim multo post supremi Tiberio consules, Cn. Acerronius C. Pontius, magistratum occepere, nimia iam potentia Macronis, qui gratiam C. Caesaris numquam sibi neglectam acrius in dies fovebat impuleratque post mortem Claudiae, quam nuptam ei rettuli, uxorem suam Enniam imitando amorem iuvenem illicere pactoque matrimonii vincere, nihil abnuentem, dum dominationis apisceretur. Nam etsi commotus ingenio simulationum tamen falsa in sinu avi perdidicerat.

XLVI. *Hesitation of Tiberius as to his successor. His distrust of the character of Caligula.*

XLVI. Gnarum hoc principi, eoque dubitavit de tradenda re publica, primum inter nepotes, quorum Druso genitus sanguine et caritate propior, sed nondum pubertatem ingressus, Germanici filio robur iuventae, vulgi studia, eaque apud avum odii causa. Etiam de Claudio agitant, quod is composita aetate bonarum artium cupiens erat, inminuta mens eius obstitit. Sin extra domum successor quaereretur, ne memoria Augusti, ne nomen Caesarum in ludibria et contumelias verterent metuebat. Quippe illi non perinde curae gratia praesentium quam in posteros ambitio. Mox incertus animi, fesso corpore, consilium, cui impar erat, fato permisit, iactis tamen vocibus per quas intellegeretur providus futurorum; namque Macroni non abdita ambage occidentem ab eo deseri, orientem spectari exprobravit. Et Caio Caesari, forte orto sermone L. Sullam inridenti, omnia Sullae vitia et nullam eiusdem virtutem habiturum praedixit. Simul crebris cum lacrimis minorem

ex nepotibus complexus, truci alterius vultu, 'occides hunc tu' inquit 'et te alius.' Sed gravescente valetudine nihil e libidinibus omittebat, in patientia firmitudinem simulans solitusque eludere medicorum artes atque eos, qui post tricesimum aetatis annum ad internoscenda corpori suo utilia vel noxia alieni consilii indigerent.

XLVII. XLVIII. *Accusation at Rome. Suicide of L. Arruntius.*

XLVII. Interim Romae futuris etiam post Tiberium caedibus semina iaciebantur. Laelius Balbus Acutiam, P. Vitellii quondam uxorem, maiestatis postulaverat; qua damnata cum praemium accusatori decerneretur, Iunius Otho tribunus plebei intercessit. Unde illis odia, mox Othoni exitium. Dein multorum amoribus famosa Albucilla, cui matrimonium cum Satrio Secundo coniurationis indice fuerat, deferitur impietatis in principem; concetebantur ut conscii et adulteri eius Cn. Domitius, Vibius Marsus, L. Arruntius. De claritudine Domitii supra memoravi; Marsus quoque vetustis honoribus et inlustris studiis erat. Sed testium interrogationi, tormentis servorum Macronem praesedissee commentarii ad senatum missi ferebant, nullaeque in eos imperatoris litterae suspicionem dabant, invalido ac fortasse ignaro ficta pleraque ob inimicitias Macronis notas in Arruntium.

XLVIII. Igitur Domitius defensionem meditans, Marsus tamquam inedia destinavisset, produxere vitam. Arruntius, cunctationem et moras suadentibus amicis, non eadem omnibus decora respondit: sibi satis aetatis, neque aliud paenitendum quam quod

inter ludibria et pericula anxiam senectam toleravisset, diu Seiano, nunc Maconi, semper alicui potentium invisus, non culpa, sed ut flagitiorum inpatiens. Sane paucos ad suprema principis dies posse vitari: quem ad modum evasurum imminentis iuventam? an, cum Tiberius post tantam rerum experientiam vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus sit, Caium Caesarem vix finita pueritia, ignarum omnium aut pessimis innutritum, meliora capessiturum Macrone duce? qui ut deterior ad opprimendum Seianum delectus plura per scelera rem publicam conflictavisset. Prospectare iam se acrius servitium, eoque fugere simul acta et instantia. Haec vatis in modum dictitans venas resolvit. Documento sequentia erunt bene Arruntium morte usum. Albucilla inrito ictu ab semet vulnerata iussu senatus in carcerem fertur. Stuprorum eius ministri, Carsidius Sacerdos praetorius ut in insulam deportaretur, Pontius Fregellanus amitteret ordinem senatorium, et eadem poenae in Laelium Balbum decernuntur, id quidem a laetantibus, quia Balbus truci eloquentia habebatur, promptus adversum insontes.

L. 11. *Increasing weakness of Tiberius discovered by the stratagem of the physician Charicles. The Emperor's determined efforts to conceal the truth. His death. The historian's estimate of his character.*

L. Iam Tiberium corpus, iam vires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat. Idem animi rigor; sermone ac vultu intentus quaesita interdum comitate quamvis manifestam defectionem tegebat. Mutatisque saepius locis tandem apud promontorium Miseni consedit in villa, cui L. Lucullus quondam dominus. Illic

eum adpropinquare supremis tali modo compertum. Erat medicus arte insignis, nomine Charicles, non quidem regere valetudines principis solitus, consilii tamen copiam praebere. Is velut propria ad negotia digrediens et per speciem officii manum complexus pulsum venarum attigit. Neque fefellit: nam Tiberius, incertum an offensus tantoque magis iram premens, instaurari epulas iubet discumbitque ultra solitum, quasi honori abeuntis amici tribueret. Charicles tamen labi spiritum nec ultra biduum duraturum Macroni firmavit. Inde cuncta conloquiis inter praesentes, nuntiis apud legatos et exercitus festinabantur. Septimum decimum kal. Aprilis interclusa anima creditus est mortalitatem explevisse; et multo gratantum concursu ad capienda imperii primordia Caius Caesar egrediebatur, cum repente adfertur redire Tiberio vocem ac visus vocarique qui recreandae defectioni cibum adferrent. Pavor hinc in omnes, et ceteri passim dispergi, se quisque maestum aut nescium fingere; Caesar in silentium fixus a summa spe novissima expectabat. Macro intrepidus opprimi senem iniectu multae vestis iubet discedique ab limine. Sic Tiberius finivit, octavo et septuagesimo aetatis anno.

LI. Pater ei Nero et utrimque origo gentis Claudiae, quamquam mater in Liviam et mox Iuliam familiam adoptionibus transierit. Casus prima ab infantia ancipites; nam proscriptum patrem exul secutus, ubi domum Augusti privignus introiit, multis aemulis conflictatus est, dum Marcellus et Agrippa, mox Gaius Luciusque Caesares viguere; etiam frater eius Drusus prosperiore civium amore erat. Sed maxime in lubrico egit accepta in matrimonium

Julia, impudicitiam uxoris tolerans aut declinans. Dein Rhodo regressus vacuos principis penates duodecim annis, mox rei Romanae arbitrium tribus ferme et viginti obtinuit. Morum quoque tempora illi diversa: egregium vita famaue, quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit; occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere; idem inter bona malaue mixtus incolumi matre; intestabilis saevitia, sed obtectis libidinibus, dum Seianum dilexit timuitve. Postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

1. **Cn. Domitius.]** This Cn. Domitius (Ahenobarbus) was the father of the Emperor Nero by the younger Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus. He was himself great-nephew to Augustus.

2. **Camillus Scribonianus.]** Scribonianus afterwards raised a revolt in Dalmatia against Claudius (*Scriboniani contra Claudium incepta simul audita et coercita*, *Hist.* i. 89); a futile effort chiefly notable for the episode of Caccina Pactus and his wife Arria (*Plin. Ep.* iii. 7).

3. **Praelegebat.]** 'Sailed along the shore.' The Emperor did not leave his ship except to visit spots close to his route. He sailed up the Tiber, his nearest approach to the city being to land at the gardens of Caesar (*juxta Tiberim hortis*). These were some distance from Rome. Horace, *Sat.* i. 9. 18, 'Trans Tiberim longe cubat.'

4. **Saxa.]** The rocks of Capreae. See c. 21, *Saxis domus imminet*.

CHAPTER II.

1. **Recens.]** An anti-classical and post-Augustan word. An Augustan writer would have used *nuper*.

2. **Livia.]** She was the sister of Germanicus and had been the wife of Drusus, son of Tiberius, and was supposed to have been privy to the murder of her husband by Sejanus.

The account of her death came within one of the lost portions of the *Annals*. Dion Cassius says that the Emperor would have spared her life for her mother Antonia's sake, αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνία ἐκούσα λιμῶ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐξώλεσε.

3. *Sententiae*.] 'Proposals in the Senate.'

4. *Bona Seiani*.....*referret*.] The *aerarium* was the treasury of the State, the *fiscus* the Emperor's private purse. Both were so absolutely in the power of the Emperor that it could not be said to matter if any fund was transferred from one to the other.

5. *Scipiones &c.*] 'Such men as the Scipios, &c.'

6. *Per deridiculum*.] 'By way of a farce.' Of course the feeling was not expressed. The absurdity of the proposal lay in the fact well known to every one that Tiberius would never again visit Rome.

7. *Orabat*.] 'He was for begging.'

8. *Epistulae*.] It is not clear whether this is a reference to the letter (the *verbosa et grandis epistula* of Juvenal, x. 71) in which Tiberius denounced Sejanus to the Senate, or to another despatched shortly before this occurrence, when the Emperor was about to make the journey described in c. 1. Orelli seems to be right in preferring the latter.

9. *Honoribus*.....*e magistratibus*.] 'Were they to be men who had held the highest offices, or aspirants to office; simple senators or magistrates?'

10. *Verbis moderans*.] 'restrained in his language.'

11. *Abolitionem*.] The proposal was not to be merely rejected; it was to be erased from the books; a distinct censure on its author.

12. *Suadere*.] The historical infinitive.

CHAPTER III.

1. *Iunium Gallionem*.] This was not the Gallio of Acts xviii. 12, but probably his father by adoption.

2. *Quatuordecim ordinibus*.] 'The fourteen benches of the Knights.' A *centurio primipilaris* became an *eques* when his term of service had expired. Gallio seems to have proposed the extension of the privilege to all time-expired privates of the force. These privates were of course of higher standing than the ordinary legionary.

3. **Velut coram rogicans.]** Using the *oratio recta*, which would be very unusual in a letter.

4. **Par.]** = *aequum*, 'right.'

5. **Prorsus.]** 'in fact,' ironical.

6. **Seiani.]** Sejanus had unquestionably tampered with the Praetorians, hoping to seat himself on the throne by their aid. Hence this furious anger on the part of the Emperor against Gallio.

7. **Meditatae.]** 'elaborate.'

8. **Incusabatur.]** 'It was ill-naturedly said of him that, &c.'

9. **Toleraturus.]** A use of the participle not unlike the Greek.

10. **Custoditur domibus magistratuum.]** This was called *libera custodia*. Ulpian, quoted by Orelli, mentions four kinds of restraint. The prisoner was either (1) committed to prison, (2) handed over to a single soldier, (3) released on bail, or (4) put into the charge of the magistrates.

11. **C. Caesari.** Commonly known as Caligula, Tiberius' successor, the third son of Germanicus. He and his elder brother Drusus were (see c. 23) now the sole male descendants of Augustus.

12. **Decernebatur.]** 'was being decreed against [and would have been],' a not unfrequent use of the imperfect.

13. **Indicium 'professus.]** 'Volunteered a disclosure,' as we say 'turned Queen's evidence.'

CHAPTER IV.

1. **Ut rettuli.]** (iv. 68—71.) Titius Sabinus was one of the victims of Sejanus, and is described as having fallen a sacrifice to his loyalty to the memory of Germanicus.

2. **Primus luendae poenae.]** 'The first to pay the penalty.'

3. **Consules prioris anni.]** These were L. Fulcinius Trio and P. Memmius Regulus. There is a brief mention of this quarrel in the chapter with which the fragment of the fifth book breaks off. It arose out of the matter of Sejanus.

4. **Mutua accusatione intenta.**] 'After the accusation which they had aimed at each other' (intendere sagittam).

5. **Noxiam conscientiae.**] 'guilt of conscience,' i. e. conscious guilt.

6. **Pro foedere haberi.**] 'Were regarded by them as a bond of union.' Enemies as they were, the guilt which they shared made them allies.

7. **Coram principe.**] i. e. on the Emperor's return to Rome.

8. **Sanguinius.**] His death, which occurred A.D. 47 while he was holding the governorship of Lower Germany, is alluded to in XI. 5. In A.D. 39 he was Consul. It is possible that he was not really a *consularis* at this time, as his name does not occur in the *Fasti* previous to the year 39.

9. **Sufficere ipsum statuendis remediis.**] 'The Emperor himself was competent to provide remedies.'

10. **Regulus.**] We learn from XIV. 47. that he died a natural death, A.D. 61. The end of Trio is related in the 38th chapter of this book.

11. **Invisior.**] 'More hated than ever.'

12. **Somno.**] 'Untimely slumbers.'

CHAPTER V.

1. **Arguitur pleraque.**] A Greek rather than a Latin construction. *Pleraque* is explained by the infinitives *dixisse*, *addidisse*, the construction of which depends on *arguitur* and is not oblique, as shown by the occurrence of *querens*. 'He is accused of many things, &c., of having said, &c., of having added, &c.' The construction is an unusual one, though such a construction as 'arguit me hoc fecisse' is not uncommon.

2. **Novendialem cenam.**] 'A funeral feast.' This was an old charge, as Livia had died three years before (A.D. 29). The point probably was an allusion to her great age and feeble health, or a suggestion that her political influence (potentia) was dead and buried, or it may have been a hint that in her case a funeral feast would be just as welcome as a birthday banquet.

3. *Potentia.*] ‘Influence;’ the word has commonly a sinister meaning.

4. *Quae cuncta.....revincebatur.*] ‘He was not likely to be convicted [the force of the imperfect] of all these charges. We must probably understand by a *primoribus civitatis* ‘though the chief men of the state sought to establish them;’ but the passage is not very clearly expressed.

5. *Convivialium fabularum simplicitas.*] ‘The freedom of table-talk.’

CHAPTER VI.

1. *Quid scribam.....si scio.*] ‘May all the gods and goddesses confound me worse than I feel myself every day to be confounded, if I know what to write, &c.’ These famous words need not necessarily express consciousness of guilt, but rather weariness and disappointment.

2. *Praestantissimus sapientiae.*] i. e. Socrates (omnium sapientissimus oraculo Apollinis indicatus, Cic. *de Senectut.* c. 21). The expression is poetical. Comp. ‘*praestans animi juvenis,*’ Verg. *Aen.* XII. 19.

3. *Si recludantur, &c.*] The passage referred to is found in Plat. *Gorg.* 524 E, ὁ Πραδάμανθος θεᾶται ἐκάστου τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐκ εἰδῶς ὅτου ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐπιλαβόμενος ἢ ἄλλου ὅτου οὖν βασιλέως ἢ δυνάστου κατεῖδεν οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ὃν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ διαμεμαστιγωμένην καὶ οὐλῶν μεστήν ὑπο ἐπιορκιῶν καὶ ἀδικίας ἃ ἐκάστῳ ἢ πράξις αὐτοῦ ἐξωμόρξατο εἰς ψύχην.

CHAPTER VII.

1. *Arruntii.*] What is alluded to here is not known : for the end of this man see c. 48.

2. *Sanctissimis artibus.*] ‘The blameless character;’ *artes* being not unfrequently used for the moral virtues in their practical aspect.

3. *Ultionis.*] ‘His vindication.’

4. *Inducti.*] ‘Brought into the Senate,’ i. e. ‘arraigned.’

5. *Equestri loco.*] A descriptive ablative.

6. *Modeste habita.*] ‘Discreetly enjoyed.’

7. *Praecipuos ad scelera.*] ‘Foremost in guilt.’

8. **C. Cestius.**] He was consul A.D. 35 (see c. 31). It has been supposed by some that he was the builder of the *Pons Cestius* which connects the island of the Tiber with the Janiculum.

9. **Quae sibi scripsisset.**] i.e. the contents of a letter of information (*delatio*) which Cestius had written to him (the Emperor).

10. **Neque discerneres.**] 'A man could not distinguish between, &c.' All were equally likely to be his enemies; nor in the things that were brought up against him could he tell what was new (*repens* for *recens*), and what had faded from his memory through time.

11. **Perinde in foro.....incusabantur.**] 'Men were called to account (not formally accused) for what they said, whether it was in the forum or at the banquet-hall, or whatever the subject.'

12. **Ut quis, &c.]** 'Just as any one hastened, &c.' Casual words were taken up if it so happened that any one was in a hurry to be the first in the field (*praevenire*), and to mark down a victim.

13. **Valetudine et contactu.]** 'The contagion of the disease.'

14. **Indicibus accessere.]** The meaning is much the same as *indiciū professus* in c. 3; only there the accused volunteered his evidence before condemnation; here Minucius and Servaeus gave it afterwards.

15. **Santonis.]** Saintonge, a province of Western France, now the Charente Inferieure.

16. **Originem non repperi.]** 'His birthplace I have not been able to discover.' The origin of the Gallic provincial was sufficiently obscure; this man's was still more so. There is an implied reproach against the cruelty of the vengeance which wreaked itself on so obscure a victim. Other writers, continues Tacitus, have feared to weary their readers with the catalogue of these petty and purposeless barbarities.

17. **Incelebrata.]** A word peculiar to Tacitus and Sallust.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. **Nam.]** About equivalent here to 'for instance.' Tacitus has been saying that many things had come in his way which, though unrecorded by others, were well worthy of

notice, and proceeds to prove his statement by a narrative which he relates.

2. **Ob id.]** i. e. *amicitiam*.

3. **Amplecti.]** 'To avow it.'

4. **Patris.]** This was Seius Strabo, who is mentioned as having been commander of the Praetorians at the death of Augustus (I. 3). Sejanus was associated with him in this command in the first year of the reign of Tiberius (I. 24).

5. **Validus ad amicitiam.]** 'Strong enough to secure.'

6. **Sordibus.]** 'humiliation' with a probable allusion to the *sordidata vestis*, which was customarily worn by persons under accusation.

7. **Exemplo.]** 'Nor do I pitch upon any one whose example I followed,' i. e. 'I am not seeking a precedent.'

8. **Novissimi consilii.]** 'His last design,' the discovery of which was made, it was said, by a letter addressed to Tiberius by Antonia, widow of his brother Drusus, and mother of Germanicus and Claudius.

9. **Vulsiniensem.]** 'The mere townsman of Vulsinii.' Vulsinii was an Etrurian town. So Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 74 and 75, 'Si favisset Nursia Tusco.'

10. **Quas adfinitate occupaverat.]** 'In which he had usurped a place by marriage alliances.' His daughter Julia had been betrothed to a son of Claudius, but the lad was accidentally killed (choked, Suetonius says, by a pear which he was tossing up and catching in his mouth) a few days after the betrothal. *Occupaverat* gives the idea of sudden and forcible action.

11. **Generum.]** This should strictly be *progenerum*, 'husband of your granddaughter.' This granddaughter was not actually married to Sejanus. Suetonius (*Tiber.* 65) says that he was '*spe adfinitatis deceptum*.' Julia was the widow of Nero, eldest son of Germanicus and Agrippina, and one of Sejanus' victims. She afterwards married Rubellius Blandus, and was put to death by Claudius at the instigation of Messalina.

12. **Consulatus.]** Sejanus had been consul in the very year of his death.

13. **Quae coram habentur.]** 'What is put before our eyes.'

14. **Nec ideo adsequare.]** 'Nor will you therefore (i. e. because you have ventured to try) succeed (in discovering them);' *adsequare* is potential.

15. **Satrium.]** This Satrius is mentioned in iv. 34, as ‘*cliens Sejani*,’ and as having laid an information against the historian Cremutius Cordus. He is mentioned again in the 47th chapter of this book with the description of *coniurationis index*, a phrase which makes it probable that he betrayed his patron. Of Pomponius nothing is known for certain. He may have been the same as the Pomponius Secundus who is mentioned in i. 8, in connection with the events that followed the fall of Sejanus.

16. **Indistincta haec defensio et promisca dabitur.]** ‘Shall this defence be offered indiscriminately and generally?’

17. **Immo.....dividatur.]** ‘Nay, let it be defined by proper limits,’ i. e. it should not avail for complicity in the plot; it should avail for having shared the friendship of the man.

18. **Idem finis.]** ‘The same principle,’ the word being used in its philosophical sense; or perhaps ‘the same result,’ i. e. the identity of the result; the fact that this friendship ended in the discovery of how those who shared it had been deceived, the Emperor having been as much in the dark as any of his subjects.

CHAPTER IX.

1. **Additis quae ante deliquerant.]** ‘For this and also for former offences.’

2. **cohortem suam.]** ‘His own retinue.’ We may compare the *cohors* or *cohortes* (for great personages seem to have had more than one) with the lords-in-waiting, equerries, &c., who are attached to our own courts; but the relation between them and the prince was less formal. The retinue that followed a provincial governor was so described (so *Cat.* x. 10, *nec praetoribus nec cohorti*). Drusus had died twenty-three years before.

3. **Seu composuerat...fides.]** The construction is not quite regular. It seems that *quod* ought to follow *seu*. If this is supplied, *habita* in the next clause is equivalent to *habita est*, otherwise *habita fides* is in apposition with *causa offensionis*.

4. **C. Caesarem.]** More commonly known as Caligula, afterwards Emperor.

5. **Convictu principis.]** ‘The Emperor’s table.’

6. **Precatus per codicillos.]** ‘Having supplicated grace by a written message.’

7. **Immiti rescripto.**] An abl. absolute, 'as the answer was unrelenting.'

8. **Ex eo.**] 'Beginning with him.'

9. **Annius Pollio.**] We hear of a man of the same name in xiv. 56 as accused of joining in the great conspiracy against Nero (that which was fatal to Seneca and the poet Lucan) and banished (see c. 71). But as we read here of his having a son old enough to be included in the accusation, he was not likely (as Orelli thinks) to have been thirty years afterwards one of the young Nero's most intimate friends (*inter praecipuos amicorum*).

10. **Appius Silanus.**] Was put to death by Narcissus, freedman of Claudius, '*Appianae caedis Narcissus molitor*' (xi. 29).

11. **Scaurus.**] His family belonged to the *Aemilia gens*, of which he was one of the last descendants. His end is related in c. 29.

12. **Sabinus Calvisius.**] He was put to death in the reign of Caligula.

13. **Majestatis postulantur.**] *Majestatis* (with *laesae* understood) means 'treason.' The more usual construction of *postulantur* is with an ablative either standing alone or with *in* or *de*.

14. **Nosceret.**] 'Take cognizance of.' '*Quae olim a practoribus noscebantur*' (xii. 60). *Cognosco* is more commonly used. Tacitus is partial to old forms.

15. **Notis.**] 'Marks of disapprobation,' a reference probably to the *nota* which the censors were wont to attach to the name of an offender.

CHAPTER X.

1. **Qua.**] 'In the respect that,' 'inasmuch as,' about equivalent to *quia* which has indeed been conjectured as an emendation.

2. **Occupandae rei publicae.**] 'Of grasping at political power.'

3. **Fufius Geminus.**] He had been consul in A.D. 29 (v. 1). His death is not recorded in the extant portion of the *Annals*.

4. **Vesularius Atticus.**] Mentioned in ii. 28, under the name of Flaccus Vesularius, as being an intimate friend of Tiberius.

5. **Rhodom.** Tiberius had retired to Rhodes at a time when his prospects of succession to the throne were obscured by the favour shown by the Emperor to the young Caesars, Caius and Lucius, sons of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, by M. Agrippa.

6. **Individui.]** 'Inseparable,' an almost singular usage of the word.

7. **Curtius Atticus.]** He is mentioned as one of the small retinue that accompanied Tiberius when he finally quitted the city (A.D. 26). We know nothing about his death.

8. **L. Piso.]** He was the father of the two youths to whom Horace addressed the *Ars Poetica*. This poem was probably written in the year 9 B.C.

9. **Fato obiit.]** 'Died a natural death.'

10. **Servilis sententiae.....moderans.]** A *servilis sententia* would mean here (as we may judge from the context) a proposition which rendered to the Emperor some base help towards carrying out his purposes of vengeance. Such resolutions Piso would never voluntarily propose. When he could not help assenting to them, he would strive with tact to moderate their effect.

11. **Memoravi.]** No such mention is to be found in what remains of the *Annals*.

12. **Decus triumphale.]** This does not mean that he actually triumphed, a practice which had fallen into disuse under the Empire, but that certain decorations customary to a triumph, viz. a laurel crown, an embroidered (*picta*) toga, a tunic worked with palm branches (*palmata*), a curule chair, and a statue were conferred upon him. These were the *triumphalia ornamenta*. We read of them as having been granted to Agricola (*Agr. c. 40*).

13. **Thraecia.]** Velleius Paterculus (II. 98), writing before the fall of Sejanus, says, 'Atrox in Thraecia bellum ortum, omnibus ejus gentis nationibus in arma accensis, L. Pisonis, quem hodieque diligentissimum atque eundem lenissimum securitatis urbanae custodem habemus, virtus compressit.'

14. **Recens continuam.]** 'Newly made perpetual.' It had previously been annual.

CHAPTER XI.

1. **Mox magistratibus.]** 'And then [when there were no longer kings] the chief magistrates.'

2. **In tempus.]** 'For the occasion.'

3. *Ius redderet.*] 'To give judicial decision,' so *respondere ius*, 'to give judicial opinions.'

4. *Subitis mederetur.*] 'Take action in sudden emergencies.'

5. *Lucretium.*] So Livy i. 59, 'Brutus imperium in urbe Lucretio, praefecto urbis iam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit.'

6. *Durat simulacrum, &c.*] 'The shadow [of the old custom] still survives,' as when the consuls had to leave Rome to take part in the *feriae Latinae* (the festival of the old Latin Confederation celebrated in honour of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban mount) a *praefectus* was appointed to take their place.

7. *Bellis civilibus.*] 'In the days of the civil wars,' i. e. between the death of Caesar and the battle of Actium, from which event Tacitus dates the Empire.

8. *Cilnium Maecenatem.*] The question of the position which Maecenas occupied is too long to be discussed here. There is a full account of it in Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*, under the title 'Maecenas.' He never had the title of *Praefectus urbis*, though he exercised a much larger power in the days of his favour.

9. *Messalla Corvinus.*] This was the distinguished soldier and man of letters whom Tibullus addresses in his first elegy: 'Te, Messalla, decet terra bellare marique,' and elsewhere; and of whom Horace speaks repeatedly (*Od.* III. 21. 8; *Sat.* I. 6. 42, 10. 85).

10. *Nescius exercendi.*] This may have been his pretext for resigning it. Thus we harmonize Tacitus' account with that given in Jerome's *Chronicle*, that Messalla resigned the post, deeming it *incivilem potestatem*.

11. *Statilius Taurus.*] A general of some distinction, who, among other services, commanded the land forces of Augustus at the battle of Actium. He was *Consul suffectus* in B. C. 39.

12. *Viginti per annos.*] It is impossible to reconcile this with the accounts given by Seneca and Suetonius. These again differ from each other. Seneca declares that Tiberius appointed Piso to this office, A.D. 26, when he finally left Rome for his retreat at Capreae. This would give a period of *six* years. Suetonius assigns the appointment to a time about ten years earlier.

CHAPTER XII.

1. *Quindecimvirum.*] ‘One of the Fifteen.’ The ‘Fifteen’ (in earlier days the number was ‘Ten’) had the charge of the Sibylline books, which it was not lawful to consult except when the Senate, on the occurrence of some difficulty, authorized the consultation. These bore the title of *Quindecimviri Sibyllini* or *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*.

2. *Per discessionem facto.*] ‘Carried by dividing the House.’ It is difficult to express the meaning in a single phrase, but Tacitus means to imply that it was not thought necessary to take the votes separately, the matter not being one of great importance. The ‘Ayes’ and ‘Noes’ went to opposite sides of the chamber. On questions of higher importance the votes were taken in order (*per sententias exquisitas*).

3. *Vetus.*] Almost equivalent to *diu peritus*. The construction is post-Augustan. A similar phrase occurs again in the beginning of c. 44, ‘*vetus regnandi*.’

4. *Incerto auctore.*] ‘Though the authority [of the book] was doubtful.’ The *auctor* was the person who vouched for its being genuine.

5. *Magistros.*] Every sacred college had its *magister* or dean, who was supposed to be well acquainted with its peculiar lore, and capable of deciding any disputed point. We find in the decree of the Senate regulating the Bacchanalian worship (passed B. C. 186) that associations of these worshippers were forbidden to have a *magister*, as this would imply that they were constituted into a college, just as they were forbidden for the same reason to have *pecunia communis* (*magister neve vir neque mulier quisquam esset. Neve pecuniam quisquam eorum communem habuisse velit*). What the meaning of the plural may be is uncertain; possibly those who had exercised this office; ‘past-masters.’

6. *Infrequentem senatum.*] We may compare a passage in the *Senatus Consultum*, quoted above, forbidding that a motion relating to the Bacchanalian worship should be brought before the Senate when there were less than a hundred members present.

7. *Sanxisse Augustum...liceret.*] Augustus had proclaimed a day before which, &c. Suetonius thus describes this proceeding on the part of Augustus. ‘*Quidquid fatidicorum librorum Græci Latinique generis nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur. Supra duo millia contracta undique cremavit, et solos retinuit Sibyllinos; hos quoque, dilectu habito.*’

8. *Sociali bello.*] This is a slip on the part of the historian. This conflagration took place July 6th, B. C. 83, when the Civil War was at its height. It is thus that in *Hist.* III. 72, Tacitus more correctly describes the event, 'arserat et ante Capitolium civili bello.'

9. *Italicas colonias.*] *Colonia* is here used in its Greek, not its Latin sense. Tacitus means the Greek colonies in Southern Italy.

10. *Sibullae, una seu plures fuere.*] Some authors related that there had been as many as *ten* prophetesses having this title.

11. *Notioni.*] 'Scrutiny,' equivalent to *cognitioni*, as in 1. 9. *nosceret* is used for *cognosceret*.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. *In theatro.*] Here, it seems, the populace of Rome used to give free vent to their feelings during the whole period of the empire; hence frequent disorders. The demands on this occasion were expressed with unusual freedom, partly no doubt because of the emperor's absence from Rome.

2. *Quibus ex provinciis.*] Egypt, Africa and Sicily were the chief sources of the corn-supply of Rome.

3. *Quam Augustus.*] In his time Egypt is said to have furnished annually twenty million pecks of corn. The corn-supply is one of our data for calculating approximately the population of Rome.

4. *Neque segnius consules edixere.*] The decree of the consuls (to check these disorders) was not less stringent.

5. *Ipsius.*] The Emperor.

6. *Civile.*] Said of one who throws off the character of a ruler and makes himself for the time a simple citizen, or like our constitutional monarch. Tiberius thought that his silence, by which he seems to condone the people's misbehaviour, would be regarded as a piece of good nature and a putting himself almost on their level. But they took it differently and said it was *hauteur*.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. *Mollitia vitae.*] 'A luxurious style of life.' Probably 'mollitia' hints at vice, at any rate at unbecoming excesses.

2. *Nihil ad serius.*] 'Without the least thought as to serious matters.' There was no political element in their

friendship with Sejanus; it was merely a case of like tastes and style of living. Some such word as 'tendens' or 'spectans' must be understood.

3. *Circumdatam.*] This tied round his neck, which he contrives to break by a violent wrench in the opposite direction to the post or pillar to which he was chained.

4. *Tamquam...fugeret.*] 'On the suspicion that he was for fleeing,' &c.

5. *Custodes additi.*] He was put under surveillance.

6. *Sane.*] This word implies that there was some ground for the suspicion against the man. 'It is at least certain that on his being found,' &c.

7. *Fretum Siciliae.*] The straits of Messana between Italy and Sicily.

8. *Longinquae peregrinationis.*] He had not really got very far on his journey. There must be sarcasm in 'longinquae.'

CHAPTER XV.

1. *Servio Galba.*] The future emperor. Lucius was really his 'praenomen' and by this he ought properly to have been mentioned. According to Suetonius he changed his 'praenomen' to Servius on being adopted by his step-mother Livia, and by this he was always commonly known.

2. *Lucio Sulla.* Mentioned in III. 31, as a young nobleman of whom a complaint was made that he did not rise from his seat at a gladiatorial show to make way for his senior, Domitius Corbulo, an *expraetor* and perhaps the famous general of Nero's time.

3. *Diu quaesito.*] 'After long deliberation.'

4. *Neptibus suis.*] The daughters of Germanicus, and so (by adoption) the emperor's granddaughters. They were Drusilla and Julia, and were respectively 16 and 15 years of age.

5. *Lucium Cassium.*] He was governor of Asia under Caligula, by whom he was put to death. The tyrant had been told to beware of a Cassius.

6. *Marcus Vinicius.*] He was subsequently one of Mesalina's victims, because, it seems, he was too respectable a man to please her.

7. *Oppidanum* genus.] He came, as we say, from the provinces, having been born at Cales in Campania. Tacitus does not mean that this was any slur on him.

8. *Comptae facundiae*.] 'Highly cultivated eloquence.'

9. *Honorati*.] Sc. many members of the family had held public offices (honores).

10. *Facilitate*.] 'Easy good-nature.'

11. *Commendabatur*.] 'Was liked.'

12. *Levi cum honore juvenum*.] 'With some slight compliment to the young men, Cassius and Vinicius.'

13. *Coeptas*.] 'Lately incurred.' In reference to the late executions of Sejanus's friends and suspected adherents.

14. *Praefectus*.] 'Commander of the praetorians.'

15. *Large*.] 'In general terms.' The context explains it.

16. *Generis*.] Their 'genus' was not defined; they might be tribunes, centurions or common soldiers.

17. *Adeo*.] 'Much less.'

18. *Ambigens*.] Sc. *Ambagibus circumeuns*. *Ambiens* is an obvious emendation and finds favour with some editors, but 'ambigens' may be fairly retained, though there is, we believe, no exact precedent for this use of it.

19. *Patriam*.] So in iv. 58, Tiberius' voluntary exile at Capreae is described '*patria carere*, Tacitus thus strongly marking his disapprobation of the emperor's absence from the capital.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. *Auctitabant*.] A word not found elsewhere. It is a sort of double frequentative, and thereby indicates an excessive practice, money-lending in fact on exorbitant terms and a most pernicious scale.

2. *Legem dictatoris Caesaris*.] Not so much any particular 'lex' as the general system of legislation on this subject by the great Julius. This aimed at limiting both the amount lent, and the interest paid, and seems to have had for one of its chief objects, the investment of money on landed security in Italy. Along with this, it reduced all debts by the deduction from the original amount of interest already paid, and also of all arrears of interest.

3. *Credendi possidendique*.] 'Of lending and of holding land,' &c.

4. *Omissam olim.*] 'Long since become obsolete.'

5. *Vetus urbi.*] Livy's early books abound with references to this matter. See Livy II. 23, 24.

6. *Cohibebatur.*] Sc. restrained by legal enactments.

7. *Primo.*] The law of the Twelve Tables in B.C. 450, was, it may be inferred from Livy VII. 16, re-enacted in 354, on the motion of two 'tribuni plebis.'

8. *Unciario fenore.*] Ten per cent. per annum, 'uncia' being $\frac{1}{12}$ th of the 'as,' from the fractions of which Roman interest was calculated. A borrower paid $\frac{1}{12}$ th of the sum borrowed for 10 months, the old Roman year. This would be at the rate of 10 per cent. for the year of 12 months. It is impossible to accept the view of some editors that it was merely 1 per cent. per annum.

9. *Exerceret.*] Understand 'rem' or 'negotium.'

10. *Rogatione tribunicia.*] In 344 B.C. See Livy VII. 27. The effect of this according to the view we reject would have been to reduce the rate of interest to one-half per cent. This strikes us as the height of absurdity.

11. *Postremo vetita versura.*] See Livy VII. 42, who mentions, but evidently without believing it, that lending on interest was altogether forbidden. Tacitus's version of the matter is that *versura*, compound interest, as we call it, was forbidden. It is hardly to be supposed that by *versura* he means exactly the same as ordinary *fenus*. The necessity for such an enactment as Livy records suggests at least that the interest hitherto paid must have been much higher than one per cent. per annum.

12. *Fraudibus.*] 'Evasions of the law.'

13. *Quaestio.*] 'The inquiry;' a technical phrase of Roman law.

14. *Concedente.*] Sc. the emperor.

15. *Legis.*] Sc. the 'lex Dictatoris Caesaris.'

16. *Rationes familiares.*] 'His own private accounts.'

CHAPTER XVII.

1. *Inopia rei nummariae.*] 'Scarcity of coin,' sc. of capital available for investment. Every one had to call in or realise his investments in order to settle his liabilities. At the same time from an unusual number of confiscations a

great sum of money was locked up in the treasury, i.e. the 'aerarium' or 'fiscus.'

2. **Commoto simul omnium aere alieno.**] All loans were called in, and thus a sudden and violent shock was given to credit.

3. **Divenditis.**] Sc. sold to different persons, as the result of confiscation.

4. **Signatum argentum.**] 'Coin.'

5. **Ad hoc.**] 'To meet this crisis.'

6. **Foenoris.**] Sc. both principal and interest; the whole amount of the loan. Two-thirds of this was to be invested in land in Italy.

7. **In solidum.**] The full amount. The creditor objected to the deduction of the arrears of interest.

8. **Appellabant.**] 'Sued.' Here a legal phrase.

9. **Minuere fidem.**] Sc. to fall short of their engagements. They had no idea of *altogether* breaking or repudiating them. To pay only two thirds of the amount borrowed seemed a sort of disreputable compounding with their creditors.

10. **Concursatio et preces.**] Sc. on the part of the alarmed creditors.

11. **Strepere.**] Historic infinitive. The praetor's court was in an uproar with all these angry claimants.

12. **Remedio.**] Sc. the relief of debtors.

13. **Mercandis agris.**] 'for buying estates.' These would be sold cheap, as the money lenders saw their opportunity. So they hoarded their money as soon as they got it with a view to speedy re-investment.

14. **Copiam vendendi secuta vilitate.**] Estates fell in price because there were so many in the market.

15. **Quis.**] For quisque.

16. **Aegrius distrahebant.**] 'With all the more difficulty did they sell.' 'Distrahere' to sell in lots, a technical word in this sense.

17. **Disposito per mensas millies sestertio.**] 'By putting at the disposal of the public banks a hundred million sesterces,' about £830,000. The 'mensae' were *public* banks which lent money on security to the state, which in this instance was double the amount in land (praediis). *Argentarii* were *private* bankers.

18. *Privati creditores.*] 'Private lenders,' as opposed to the 'mensae.'

19. *Acribus.....fine.*] At first, the law was very rigorously carried out in all its provisions, but after a time with considerable laxity. It thus shared the same fate as the 'lex Julia' (above referred to) on this matter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. *Priores metus.*] Fears of more state-prosecutions.

2. *Considio Proculo.*] It seems from v. 8 that he was an ex-prætor, and that he had himself endeavoured to ruin Pomponius Secundus, mentioned below, on charges arising out of the fall of Sejanus.

3. *Pariter.*] Sc. 'at one and the same moment.'

4. *Aqua atque igni interdictum.*] This was the harshest kind of 'exsilium,' of which there were several degrees. It was banishment from Italy with the loss of all civil rights, and so far answered to 'outlawry' with us.

5. *Haec et hujusce modi.*] That is, such prosecutions as that of Sancia for immorality. These a strict emperor like Tiberius might be supposed to regard with favour.

6. *Adfixerat.*] The word seems to imply that the act was a purely arbitrary one on the part of the emperor, who did it perhaps for the selfish purpose of confiscating their property. Of course it is equivalent to 'damnaverat' as the context shows.

7. *Pater.*] He was Pompeius Maecr, head-librarian to Augustus and subsequently governor of the province of Asia.

8. *Frater.*] He had years before at the very beginning of Tiberius's reign, given offence by the suspicious question whether there were to be any prosecutions under the head of 'majestas.' I. 72.

9. *Theophanen.*] A particularly intimate friend of Pompey the Great, whose life he wrote. Cicero mentions him in his speech for the poet Archias, as a man of letters. It would rather seem that he must have been the grandfather of these two Pompeii, and that Tacitus has made a slip in describing him as their 'proavus.' To have been a friend of Pompey the Great, who was on the wrong side in politics, might be taken to imply treasonable proclivities, but it was far fetched to impute such possible proclivities to his friend's grandsons. There was something more tangible in the charge

that Theophanes had been made the object of divine-honour; this might fairly be supposed to have been done by the influence of the Pompeii, and it was rather a slur on the emperor.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. *Aurarias ejus.*] 'Gold-mines on his property.' Pliny (35, 21) notes the gold-mines of Spain.

2. *Publicarentur.*] 'Were applied to public purposes.' The owner did not use them for his own profit, but let them be used for the benefit of the province.

3. *Sibimet seposuit.*] That is, diverted these revenues into the 'fiscus.'

4. *Inritatus suppliciiis.*] His appetite for vengeance was keener than ever; he was, according to Tacitus, like a tiger which has once tasted human blood.

5. *Dispersi aut aggerati.*] 'Lying singly or in heaps.'

6. *Diutius.*] 'For long.' Their friends must not linger over them, but only glance at them, and then pass on.

7. *Adsistere, inlacrimare.*] Historic infinitives.

8. *Custodes.*] 'Spies.'

9. *In moerorem cujusque intenti.*] 'Observing keenly the grief shown by each relative.'

10. *Sortis humane commercium.*] 'The fellowship and sympathy properly belonging to the lot of man.' All human ties were cut asunder; it was 'a reign of terror.'

11. *Quantum.*] For 'quanto magis.'

12. *Saevitia.*] Sc. the emperor's cruelty, which as it became fiercer, drove away all compassion from his victims. People were afraid to show it.

CHAPTER XX.

1. *Caius Caesar.*] The future emperor Caligula, who being the son of Germanicus, himself Tiberius's *adopted* son, might be spoken of as the *grandson* of Tiberius.

2. *Claudiam.*] In Suetonius (Caligula, 12) she is Junia Claudilla.

3. *M. Silani.*] He had been consul (II. 59); was an eloquent speaker, as well as a man of old family (the Junia gens) III. 24. Out of compliment to the emperor he proposed

in the senate that the year should be dated, not, as was usual, by the names of the consuls for the particular year, but by those of the holders of the 'tribunitia potestas.' This was always the emperor.

4. *Subdola modestia.*] 'A cunningly assumed self-repression,' 'modestia' implying submissiveness to the emperor's wishes.

5. *Rupta voce.*] Like *ῥῆξαι φωνήν*, of a sudden abrupt exclamation under the influence of violent emotions.

6. *Qualem diem.....verbis.*] Tiberius's daily demeanour was exactly imitated by his grandson, and almost his very words echoed by him. 'Diem induere' is to put on a certain character and temper for the day, as you would put on your clothes; so Burnouf, quoted by Orelli, aptly reminds us that in speaking of a prince's humours, people say 'c'est son bon jour, c'est son mauvais jour.' If the emperor was in a good humour, his grandson would affect the same; in all respects he would conform to his 'habitus,' his general tone and temper. Orelli quotes from the *Odyssey* (xviii. 136) *τοῖος γὰρ νέος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων οἷον ἐπ' ἡμᾶρ ἄγῃσι πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*, a passage Tacitus may have had in his mind.

7. *Scitum.*] 'Witty.'

8. *Passieni.*] He was the emperor Nero's step-father, having become Agrippina's husband. Quintilian (12. 10, 11) speaks of his 'jucunditas,' by which we suppose he meant his pleasant wit. It seems that he was lucky enough to live to the reign of Claudius and then die a natural death.

9. *Praesagium Tiberii.*] According to Suetonius it was Augustus who said this to Galba when a mere child; *καὶ σὺ, τέκνον, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν παρατρῶξη*. Josephus however, agrees with Tacitus. 'Degustabis' you shall have a taste of.

10. *Pertemptatum.*] 'Thoroughly sounded.'

11. *Quandoque.*] For 'quandocunque,' 'some day or other.'

CHAPTER XXI.

1. *Tali negotio.*] That is, any sort of business to which astrology might seem to be profitably applied.

2. *Vanitatis.*] 'Imposture,'

3. *Index arcani.*] 'Divulger of the secret.'

4. *Commoverat.*] 'Had profoundly affected.'

5. *Suam.....horam.*] 'His own horoscope.'
6. *Quantum.*] For 'quanto magis' as in ch. 19.
7. *Trepidus admirationis et metus.*] 'Trembling between amazement and alarm.'
8. *Ambiguum.*] 'Critical.'
9. *Praescium.*] Understand 'esse.'

CHAPTER XXII.

1. *Volvantur.*] Sc. 'move.' The word may have been suggested by the movements of the heavenly bodies.
2. *Sapientissimos veterum.*] 'The greatest philosophers of antiquity.' The reference is general, not merely to the Epicureans whom Tacitus would have hardly so described.
3. *Quique sectam eorum aemulantur.*] 'Those who follow their teaching.' He means the philosophers of his own day, again without reference to any single sect, as is plainly indicated by the word 'diversos.'
4. *Multis.*] Sc. the Epicureans.
5. *Alii.*] Sc. the Stoics.
6. *Fatum...rebus.*] 'That destiny is closely connected with events,' but does not *wholly* govern them. Freewill has some place.
7. *Vagis stellis.*] Sc. the planets.
8. *Electionem vitae.*] 'Choice of a particular mode of life.'
9. *Prospera.*] Agreeing with 'fortuna' understood.
10. *Non eximitur.*] Sc. 'the idea cannot be removed.'
11. *Fallaciis ignara dicentium.*] 'From the impostures of men who talk of what they do not know.'
12. *Quippe...memorabitur.*] In xiv. 9. It was foretold to Agrippina, Nero's mother, that her son would be emperor and would murder his mother. 'Let him slay me,' she replied, 'so that he reign.'

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. *Asinii Galli.*] He is often mentioned in the Annals in a way indicating some independence of character.
2. *Vel.*] We should expect 'an.'

3. **Coram.]** 'Publicly,' or in the emperor's presence.
4. **Se...detinuisset.]** 'Kept himself alive.' A very singular expression.
5. **Nuru ac nepoti.]** Sc. Agrippina and Drusus. 'Nuru' the old form of the dative. Tacitus likes these forms.
6. **Poenitentiam.]** 'Change of purpose,' which rumour was imputing to him.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. **Invectus.]** Sc. in a letter to the senate about the death of Drusus.
2. **Exitiabilem in suos.]** Drusus is said (iv. 60) to have had an 'atrox ingenium.'
3. **Recitari.]** To be read out before the Senate.
4. **Descripta per dies.]** 'A daily account,' 'a journal.'
5. **Adstittisse...potuisse.]** These infinitives depend on 'vix fides'; 'there would hardly have been convincing proof' &c.
6. **Nisi quod.]** 'But for the fact that,' &c., quis for 'quisque.' Referring to 'servorum.'
7. **Tanquam egregium.]** 'As if it was something singularly meritorious.'
8. **Deficientis.]** 'Of the dying man.'
9. **Quasi per dementiam.]** It looks as if these words had been added as a gloss by way of explaining 'mentis alienationem.' At any rate they can very well be dispensed with. Drusus at first feigning madness cursed the emperor in vague and general language; then, when he found his case hopeless, he went into particulars, that his curses might be more stinging.
10. **Nepotes.]** Understand 'interfecisset' which is involved in the following 'caedibus complevisset.'
11. **Obturbabant...detestandi.]** 'The senators interrupted (the reading of this letter) under the pretence of expressing horror.' This of course was meant as a piece of flattery.
12. **Tanquam dimotis parietibus.]** 'Having, so to speak, pushed aside the walls,' so as to expose everything.

13. **Extrema...alimenta.**] That is, such food as would be used only in the direst extremity. Drusus had supported life on the stuffing of his mattress.—Ch. 23.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. **Is dolor.**] The grief felt at the horrible death of Drusus.

2. **Provixisse.**] ‘Lived on.’ This is a solitary instance of the use of the word.

3. **Saevitia.**] Referring to Tiberius’s cruelty generally, not merely to his harsh treatment of Agrippina.

4. **Finis.**] Euphemistically for ‘mors,’ as ‘finire’ for ‘mori.’

5. **Criminationibus.**] Dative according to Orelli for ‘ad criminationes,’ but more probably the ablative of manner, as in ‘dolore exarsit.’

6. **Ejus.**] Asinius Gallus.

7. **Aequi impatiens.**] ‘Impatient of equality.’ She claimed to be every one’s superior.

8. **Virilibus...exuerat.**] ‘By manly pursuits she had put at a distance from her all a woman’s failings.’ ‘Exuerat’ does not imply that she ever had these failings or gave way to them, though of course she must have been tempted to them. All that it means is that she had kept herself clear of a woman’s natural weaknesses by cultivating manly tastes and pursuits. Tacitus uses the word ‘exuerat’ in exactly the same way in his *Agricola*, Ch. 9; ‘*Tristitiam et avaritiam exuerat*,’ that is, ‘he was perfectly free from,’ &c.

9. **Gemonias.**] Stairs leading down to the Tiber, down which the bodies of criminals were thrown.

10. **Utriusque.**] Sejanus and Agrippina.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. **Cocceius Nerva.**] The grandfather of the emperor Nerva. He is mentioned in iv. 58, as a learned jurist [he wrote a treatise on the law of ownership (*usucapio*)] and as having with others accompanied Tiberius on his departure from Rome into Campania, A.D. 26.

2. **Continuus principis.**] ‘Continnus’ must be taken as a noun, unless we read with Ritter ‘*principi*.’ We may

perhaps justify this by the occasional use of 'proximus' in a similar manner. There was a tendency in the silver age to use such words as nouns. Comp. 'extremo anni' in 27, and 'simulationum falsa' in 45.

3. **Integro statu.]** He had not yet been assailed by the 'delatores.'

4. **Abstinentiam cibi coniunxit.]** Either, 'he at once followed up the emperor's entreaties by starvation,' or 'he continued to starve himself, as he had begun to do previous to those entreaties.' The latter seems preferable.

5. **Odium et gratia.]** The hatred of Agrippina, the favour of Augusta.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. **Neronis.]** The son of Germanicus, not the future emperor.

2. **Denupsit.]** Julia's marriage happened to be an inferior one, but 'denupsit' merely means, 'married out of her class.'

3. **Aelius Lamia.]** The man to whom two of Horace's Odes (I. 26, III. 17) are addressed. Juvenal (VI. 385) mentions the Lamiae as a type of high nobility; 'Quaedam de numero Lamiarum ac nominis alti,' also 'Hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti' (IV. 154). This Lamia was consul, A.D. 2; originally they were a plebeian family.

4. **Funere censorio.]** A regular phrase for an exceptionally grand public funeral, as the death of a censor in office was always looked on as a particularly sad calamity.

5. **Imagine.]** The thing was a farce because Tiberius had not allowed Lamia to leave Rome and enter on his province of Syria. This was his practice in some cases, as we are told I. 80. Arruntius mentioned below was an instance.

6. **Urbi praefuerat.]** In this dignified office Lamia had succeeded Lucius Piso.

7. **Incusabat.]** He complained of the refusal as an injustice. There was a touch of anger in his complaint.

8. **Moderatione.]** Freedom from ambition, and judicious behaviour.

9. **Prioribus libris.]** I. 13; IV. 20, where he is said to have been a 'vir gravis ac sapiens,' who had a salutary influence on Tiberius.

10. *Neque nobilitas...est.*] 'I need not any further point out the nobility of a man who was of the famous 'Aemilia gens.'

11. *Corruptis moribus.*] Tacitus means members of the family who had had revolutionary designs, as for example the Lepidus whose 'turbidae rogationes' are mentioned III, 27. This Lepidus was the father of the triumvir. In 78 B.C. he led a democratic agitation for the repeal of Sulla's legislation just after Sulla's death. Catulus was his chief opponent. Tacitus did not like democrats and seldom speaks well of them.

12. *Inlustri fortuna.*] 'They had a splendid position.'

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. *Lucio Vitellio.*] The father of the emperor.

2. *Avis phoenix.*] According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* x. 2), and Dion Cassius (58, 27) this phoenix made its appearance in Egypt two years later. Pliny says it really came from Arabia, the home of that remarkable bird according to the Egyptian priests, whose description of it Herodotus gives II. 73.

3. *Cognitu non absurda.*] That is, 'somewhat interesting,' as we should say. 'Absurdus' is not quite so strong a word as its English derivative.

4. *Promere libet.*] Tacitus feels the digression to be a relief; it is a pleasure to him to tell it, and he becomes poetic in telling it.

5. *Distinctu pinnarum.*] 'The plumage,' which was of many colours.

6. *Qui...effinxere.*] This is the nominative to 'consentiunt.'

7. *Numero annorum.*] The number of years between its appearances.

8. *Maxime vulgatum.*] 'Is the more popular tradition.' Such is Herodotus's account.

9. *Antiquitas quidem obscura.*] 'Antiquity, we all know, is obscure.'

10. *Falsum.*] 'Spurious.'

11. *Nihil usurpavisse.*] 'Did none of the usual things.'

12. *Suis in terris.*] That is, in Arabia.

13. *Temptato.*] 'Having essayed to bear it.'

14. *Haec incerta.....aucta.*] 'All this is doubtful and has grown under the influence of fable.' But that there is such a bird, in Egypt at least, Tacitus seems to think incontestable.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. *Promptas.*] That is, suffered with decision and promptitude.

2. *Carnificis.*] 'The hangman,' as we should say, only the Roman officer beheaded.

3. *Et quia.*] 'The fact that...'

4. *De se statuebant.*] 'Decided their own fate.'

5. *Manebant.*] 'Remained valid.'

6. *Pretium festinandi.*] 'A reward for prompt action.' In apposition with the preceding.

7. *Id se repetivisse.*] 'He (Tiberius) had revived this custom.'

8. *Urguebatur.*] This is the only instance of a genitive after 'urgeri,' and so 'arguebatur' has been suggested, while Ritter inserts 'mole' after 'criminum.' 'Urgere' implies a grievous and crushing accusation. The reading, though questionable, may perhaps stand, as it is quite possible that Tacitus may have ventured on a new construction of the word, when the meaning is so very plain.—It looks rather like a condensation of 'male administratae provinciae crimine,' &c. No doubt the old form 'arguebatur' would be easily confused with 'arguebatur.'

9. *Culpam invidia velavisse.*] That is, Labeo had veiled his guilt at the emperor's expense, on whom his suicide had brought odium. All this is implied in the single word 'invidia,' which can hardly be rendered but by a circumlocution. Tiberius meant to say that Labeo's suicide was a spiteful act towards himself. Almost exactly the same phrase occurs, and in the same sense, in III. 10, where the emperor says of Piso's suicide, 'suam invidiam tali morte quaesitam.'

10. *Periculi...expertem.*] Labeo's wife, Tiberius says, had nothing to fear from me, guilty though she was.

11. *Vita probrosus.*] So much so that Tacitus says of him (III. 66) that he was 'opprobrium majorum.'

12. *Labefecit.*] 'Prepared the way for his fall.'

13. *Detulerat.*] 'Had made it the subject of an information.' It appears that the title of the play in question was *Atreus*, and that a line from Euripides occurred in it, to the effect that we must bear with the follies of rulers. It is in the *Phocissae*, 396: τὰς τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίας φέρειν χρεῶν.

14. *Magorum sacra.*] 'Magical rites' learnt from the 'magi,' the fortune-tellers of the period. Scaurus, it was said, had consulted them, with an eye, no doubt, to political revolution and the emperor's death. This was a capital offence. The 'magus' was a particularly conspicuous figure in all great cities in this age. Such a charge against a man might well follow, as in this case, on an intrigue with an imperial lady.

15. *Ut dignum veteribus Aemiliis.*] A family, as we are reminded at the end of ch. 27, 'abounding in good citizens.'

CHAPTER XXX.

1. *Ac tamen.*] That is, though accusers were so plentiful, still they got regularly punished on every opportunity, as happened to the accusers of Scaurus.

2. *Omittendae delationis.*] 'Dropping a prosecution,' which they had undertaken. This sort of collusion with the other side was called 'praevaricatio.'

3. *Lentulus Gaetulicus.*] He had been consul, A.D. 26 (iv. 46); the younger Pliny mentions him (*Epp.* v. 3) in a long list of highly respectable men as a writer of playful, possibly rather improper, verses (*versiculi parum severi*). He was too a historian, as appears from Suetonius (*Calig.* 8). He was one of Caligula's victims.

4. *Facessit.*] Said of a man who sets himself to his work heartily.

5. *Is.*] Gaetulicus.

6. *Ultro damnatur.*] That is, the 'delator' was caught in his own trap; the tables were turned on him. So far from getting Gaetulicus ruined, he got himself ruined. There could not be a better instance of the force of 'ultro,' a word to which in this sense Tacitus is decidedly partial.

7. *Proximo exercitui.*] The army of Lower Germany under Lucius Aponius. iv. 73.

8. *Fama censtans.*] A well-founded rumour, and one widely believed.

9. *Adfinitatem sibi cum Sejano.*] He had, as said above, intended to marry his son to Sejanus's daughter.

10. Illi.] Tiberius.

11. Sine fraude.] 'Without injury' or 'without guilt,' but the two meanings run into each other.

12. Indicium mortis.] Either a warning to him that he might as well commit suicide, or else that he must expect sentence of death from the emperor.

13. Ceterarum rerum.] Everything except the province of Lower Germany, which Gaetulicus was to retain.

14. Fidem ex eo trahebant.] 'Obtained belief from the fact'...

15. Fama.] 'Prestige.'

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. Aequabilis.] 'Impartially just.'

2. Secunda.] 'With success.'

3. Inermem.] That is, both averse to war and almost incapable of it. After Germanicus' death the emperor had no really first-rate general, and a war with the Parthians could hardly be ventured on.

4. Addita contumelia.] According to Suetonius (Lib. 66), Artabanus had written to Tiberius a very insulting letter in which he had recommended him to atone for all his various wickednesses by suicide.

5. Veteres...terminos.] This depends on 'jaciebat.' He bragged about the old boundaries between the Macedonian and Parthian empires, implying that he meant to restore them.

6. Proximus huic.] 'Next in power to Sinnaces.'

7. Ultro potentiam habet.] As in 30 'ultro' denotes a turning of the tables, a reversal of what might have been expected. We may render it by 'actually,' which is used to express surprise.

8. Adscitis et aliis primoribus.] Sinnaces and Abdus invited the cooperation of some of the other principal men.

9. Nomine.] The prestige of a name.

10. Ut sponte Caesaris.] This refers to the preceding 'auctore.' Caesar was to give his authority and sanction to the proceeding, and then, with the royal name of the founder of the dynasty (Arsaces) to back it up, success would be sure. The sentence is not quite regularly constructed. After 'ut

sponte Caesaris' we must understand something like 'res fieret.'

11. *Ripam apud Euphratis.*] Then the eastern boundary of Rome's empire.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. *Ornat.*] 'Gives him a complete outfit,' which would include a retinue and horses and a stock of money, &c.

2. *Accingit.*] 'Crowns him,' according to Orelli. Better, 'equips him for the recovery of his father's throne.'

3. *Destinata retinens.*] 'Holding to his resolutions. What these were, the context tells us. The emperor's foreign policy was to manage matters by diplomacy and to avoid war.

4. *Barbaris.*] 'All barbarous peoples.'

5. *Statim exsequi.*] 'Prompt action,' especially for vengeance.

6. *Inligaret.*] So also 'implicari morbo.' The poison, being a slow one, would for a time merely weaken him and so be a clog on his movements.

7. *Cultu Romano.*] 'Roman fashions and civilisation.'

8. *Insumit.*] Takes it on himself as something burdensome. The word is very appropriate, though it has been questioned and 'adsumit' needlessly substituted for it by Ritter.

9. *Patriis moribus impar.*] 'Not strong enough for the ways and customs of his country.'

10. *Reciperandae Armeniae.*] For the winning back of Armenia to the empire of Rome. Armenia was sometimes a dependency of Rome, sometimes of Parthia, and was a continual bone of contention between the two. See II. 3.

11. *Gentile imperium.*] Rule over his own people, the Iberi.

12. *Exemplar.*] 'A type.'

13. *Adulatorii dedecoris.*] 'A flatterer's infamy.'

14. *Cesserunt prima postremis.*] That is, 'the beginning of his career was quite wiped out by its close.' He had been, we have just been told, a good provincial governor. The context shows that this is the meaning.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. *Perpulit...iuvare.*] 'Ut iuvaret' would be the more usual construction.

2. *Conatus suos.*] The attempts of Mithridates to get Armenia for Rome.

3. *Ad scelus.*] Sc. to poison Arsaces.

4. *Ultorem parat.*] Finds an avenger of the insult in his son Orodes.

5. *Dat.*] He gives Orodes.

6. *Auxilia mercede facerent.*] 'Procure auxiliaries for pay.'

7. *Sceptuchi.*] So Xenophon terms the grandees of the Persian court. Here simply equivalent to 'principes' or 'primores.'

8. *More gentico.*] 'After the way of their country,' which was to take bribes.

9. *Diversa induere.*] 'Took opposite sides,' some with Orodes, some with Pharasmanes.

10. *Caspia via.*] Also called Caspiae portae, one of the passes of the Caucasus. There were two such passes, and they are often confused. The one here meant is probably the pass of Dariel, in the centre of the range.

11. *Qui Parthis adventabant.*] 'Those who were coming up to help the Parthians.'

12. *Mare.*] The Caspian.

13. *Revolvit fluctus.*] 'Rolls back the waves from the shallows to the sea.'

14. *Introrsus.*] 'Seawards.'

15. *Brevia litorum.*] 'The shallows by the shore.' 'Brevia' answers to the Greek *τὰ βράχη*. Virgil thus uses the word, *Aen.* I. 111, *tres (naves) Eurus ab alto In brevia et syrtes arguet.*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. *Auctus auxilio.*] He had received an accession of strength from the Albani and Sarmatae.

2. *Infensare pabula.*] Harassed the foraging-parties; 'pabula' for 'pabulatores.'

3. *Feruntque.....repetivit.*] Their origin, they said, dated from the time when Jason, subsequently to his return to Thessaly after his victorious expedition, went a second time with his wife Medea, and his children by her, to her native Colchi, and restored his father-in-law Aeetes to his kingdom, from which in the meantime he had been expelled. The royal palace was 'inanis'; that is, after Medea's flight there were no children to succeed their father in the kingdom, and Colchi was 'vacui,' because its king had been ejected. So in 51 we have 'vacuos principis penates;' a province without a governor is said to be 'vacua;' and so also a legion that has lost its commander (II. 46). The legends about Jason are confused, and vary considerably. According to Justin these same Albani claim an Italian descent, and in the Mithridatic war saluted Pompey's army as brothers. But perhaps this was a purely Roman invention.

4. *Multa de nomine ejus.*] Jason, it seems, was worshipped as a hero in Armenia and Media, and so, many spots were sacred to his memory and called after his name.

5. *Ceterum.*] Sc. 'to drop this little digression;' 'to pass on.'

6. *Mercenario milite.*] This explains 'ignobilem;' the Iberi were despicable from their use of mercenaries.

7. *Horridam.*] 'Bristling with weapons.'

8. *Hinc viros.*] 'On one side fighting men.'

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. *Variae hinc bellantium species.*] 'Consequently there were many varieties in the fighting.'

2. *Distraheret turmas.*] 'Divided and scattered their bands;' fought in loose array.

3. *Ictibus.*] Sc. their missiles, particularly their arrows. In these they were far superior to the Sarmatae.

4. *Quo brevius valent.*] Sc. their bows did not carry so far as those of the enemy. 'Brevius' means a shorter range.

5. *Frontis et tergi vices.*] Sc. 'alternations of advance and retreat;' they now showed their faces, now their backs. Understand 'essent' depending on 'cum.'

6. *Ut conserta acies.*] 'As an army in close conflict,' opposed to cavalry skirmishing, above mentioned. Ernesti's emendation 'conferta,' adopted by Ritter, is unnecessary, and

'conserta' is even more appropriate and renders the antithesis more effective. It seems best to put a comma after 'acies,' and to make 'pellerent pellerentur' dependent on 'eum.'

7. **Detrudere.]** 'Pulled them off their horses.'

8. **Ancipitem.]** The Parthians had, so to say, to fight two battles, with the enemy's cavalry, which was on higher ground (*super*) and with his infantry, which had now closed with them.

9. **Propioribus vulneribus.]** Wounds inflicted at much closer quarters than those from the cavalry at some distance.

10. **Praelatus.]** For 'praeterlatus'; as 'praefluere' for 'praeterfluere' in Horace, *Od.* iv. 3, 10.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. **Mox.]** *Sc.* in the following year.

2. **Tota mole.]** The whole weight of his empire, as we might say.

3. **Melius.]** 'More successfully.'

4. **Subdito rumore.]** The rumour was a false one; this is implied in 'subdito,' 'sub' having this force and suggesting some underhand dealing.

5. **Omissa Armenia.]** The Parthian king gave up all further attempts on Armenia.

6. **Adversis praeliorum exitiosum.]** That is, a source of ruin to his friends from his disasters in fighting.

7. **Antea.]** Ch. 31, 32.

8. **Occultos consilii.]** 'Secret partisans of his scheme,' or 'keeping their danger a secret.' So 'non occultus odii,' iv. 7.

9. **Continuis cladibus.]** 'In consequence of their continuous defeats' in fighting with the Iberi.

10. **Repertis auctoribus.]** 'When they had once found abettors.'

11. **Quis neque...cura.]** This expresses the lowest moral degradation.

12. **Sceleribus.]** 'Scelerum' would be more usual after 'ministri.'

13. **Contermina Scythiae.]** East of the Caspian, the wilds of Khorassan.
14. **Adfinitatem.]** Marriage-connexions.
15. **Posse.]** Understand 'speravit' or some such word.
16. **Absentium aequos.]** Kindly disposed towards absentee rulers; the dative would be more usual.
17. **Mobiles.]** 'Excitable,' 'restless.'

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. **Hic.]** Sc. Vitellius. His sacrifice of 'Suovetaurilia' was for the lustration of his army, and showed he was ready to fight.
2. **Ille.]** Tiridates.
3. **Placando amni.]** Comp. Homer *xxi.* 132, ζώους ἐν δίνῃσι καθίετε μώνυχας ἵππους. Rivers were sacred with the Persians. Comp. also Plutarch. *Luc.* 24.
4. **Simul...orbes.]** 'That with the whitening foam circles were forming themselves in the shape of a crown,' &c.
5. **Callidius interpretabantur.]** 'Put a subtler interpretation on it.'
6. **Eorum...portenderentur.]** 'Of those portents which are given by the earth or the heaven;' the subjunctive because of the oblique narration after 'interpretabantur.'
7. **Ostenderet omnia raperetque.]** 'Exhibited prognostics and in the same moment swept them away.'
8. **Delmaticum bellum.]** In B. C. 12, and Tiberius had an 'ovation' for it B. C. 9. It was an insurrectionary movement.
9. **Regis.]** The Parthian king.
10. **Quae utrobique pulchra.]** All that was honourable in the grandfather Phraates and in the Roman emperor who had been his (Tiridates') fosterfather.
11. **Fidem.]** 'Loyalty.'

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. **Coniunxi.]** Sc. 'I have told the narratives of these two years' events without interruption.'
2. **Quae.]** Referring to the context, 'tempus preces,' &c.

3. *Abolita.*] Sc. things quite forgotten and clean wiped out.

4. *Eo metu.*] The fear inspired by the fact just mentioned.

5. *Fulcinus Trio.*] See ch. 4.

6. *Ingruentis*] 'Rushing on like a storm.'

7. *Haud perpessus.*] 'Not awaiting their attack.'

8. *Supremis tabulis.*] 'In his will.'

9. *Continuo abscessu.*] 'A sort of exile from continuous absence.' The emperor's retirement was virtual exile.

10. *Recitari.*] 'To be read out in public.' Tiberius thus showed that he could put up with freespokenness in others and that he was quite indifferent to his own shame. Here Tacitus seems to take the worst view of Tiberius. His conduct may have been due to magnanimity.

11. *Quoquo modo dicta.*] Sc. any, the most reckless things said about him.

12. *Per probra saltem.*] Through reproaches, if it could be by no other means.

13. *Lege eadem.*] The 'lex majestatis.'

14. *Extremum supplicium.*] Also called 'ultimum,' and 'summum.' It was strangulation in gaol.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. *Trebellienus Rufus.*] He had been appointed by the senate guardian to the children of the Thracian king Cotys, A.D. 19, (II. 67, III. 38).

2. *Paconianus.*] See ch. 3, 4. He had been in prison since A.D. 32.

3. *Quasi...sanguinem.*] 'Almost a spectator of the blood as it streamed through Rome's houses.'

4. *Poppaeus Sabinus.*] He had governed Moesia in the lifetime of Augustus, and to this Macedonia and Achaia were subsequently added. It seems from IV. 46, that he still held his post in A.D. 26. It was in that year that he won the 'triumphale decus' here mentioned, for a victory over some Thracian tribes.

5. *Par negotiis neque supra.*] He was quite equal to the conduct of business, and he was not so great as to be above

it and so to be dangerously ambitious. Tiberius, we are told i. 80, did not like 'eminentes virtutes,' which indeed do not suit imperialism.

CHAPTER XL.

1. **Eo anno.]** * * * It may be presumed that here came a list of judicial murders.

2. **Neque...advertebatur.]** Sc. no notice was taken of the more ordinary sentences of death. Such things passed without remark, from people's familiarity (adsuetudine) with such horrors.

3. **Festinatis lictorum manibus.]** The hurried arrest by lictors was to secure the confiscation of the man's property. See ch. 29, where we are told that many committed suicide to avoid this further calamity. The farce of breaking the dead man's neck with a halter was to make believe that he had undergone capital punishment, in which case his property would be confiscated and the prosecutors would get their rewards. The word 'vexatae' implies a needless and gratuitous illtreatment.

4. **Tigranes.]** This Tigranes is mentioned by Josephus (*Antiq.* i8, 5, 4), according to whom he was the grandson of Herod the Great. Josephus adds that he was accused at Rome.

5. **Nomine regio.]** 'On the score of his title as a king.'

6. **C. Galba.]** Brother of the emperor.

7. **Blaesi.]** Sons probably of the Blaesus who was uncle of Sejanus, (see iii. 35,) and who, as such, had been advanced to great honour by Tiberius.

8. **Tristibus litteris.]** 'A bitter, unkind letter.'

9. **Convulsa.]** 'After the overthrow of their house,' which followed on the fall of Sejanus.

10. **Exsecuti sunt.]** Sc. they followed up this 'signum mortis' by suicide.

11. **Druso.]** The son of Germanicus, whose horrible death is related in ch. 23.

12. **Intestabilis.]** The word implies the last degree of depravity. Strictly, it means a person disqualified by misconduct for performing any legal act. 'Detestabilis' is said of a person or thing that one would pray against, and is equally strong.

13. **Corripitur.]** 'Is pounced on.'

14. **Flagitio.]** A word specially denoting any very disgraceful immorality.

CHAPTER XLI.

1. **Clitarum natio.]** These were a medley of Cappadocian tribes in Cilicia Trachea, a rocky strip of country along the coast.

2. **Archelao.]** This was a common name of the petty Cappadocian princes, who were dependents on Rome. Cappadocia was formally converted into a Roman province in A.D. 17, but for some time previously it had been under Roman control, and one Archelaus (the grandfather probably of the man here mentioned) was a nominee of Augustus. The Cappadocians were a set of mountain tribes and not easy to govern.

3. **Deferre census.]** Sc. 'to send in returns' (as we say) on which taxation would be based.

4. **Ferro.]** Some he slew with the sword. The rest he took prisoners.

5. **Nicephorium et Anthemusiada.]** Cities in what was called Osrhoene, on the north-west of Mesopotamia. The first was situated at the junction of the Bilicha with the Euphrates, and was one of the cities founded by the order of Alexander the Great.

6. **Macedonibus.]** 'By the Macedonians.' Dative for instrumental ablative. 'Sitae' is of course equivalent to 'conditae.'

7. **Halumque et Artemitam.]** In Assyria, the latter being an important town according to Strabo.

8. **Come.]** 'Gentle and civilised,' as might be expected would result from an education at Rome, such as Tiridates had received.

CHAPTER XLII.

1. **Seleucenses.]** Seleucia or Seleuccia, so named from its founder, the great Selencus Nicator, was on the right bank of the Tigris, to the north-east of Babylon. In its flourishing days it is said to have had a population of 600,000.

2. **Neque in barbarum corrupta.]** 'Not degraded into barbarism,' like some of the cities in those remote parts. It had always clung to Greek civilisation in memory of its founder.

3. *Retinens.*] By an unusual construction = memor.
4. *Sua populo vis.*] Sc. the people as well as the Senate had a voice in the government.
5. *Quotiens concordēs agunt.*] 'Whenever senate and people act together.'
6. *Accitus.*] Sc. Parthus.
7. *Id...regnante.*] That is, Artabanus had been called in to help one side, and he had made the senate, or upper class, supreme.
8. *Ex suo usu.*] 'To suit his own policy.'
9. *Regiæ libidini.*] 'A king's arbitrary caprices.'
10. *Quos...invenit.*] 'Those (honours) which modern times have devised on a still more abundant scale.'
11. *Cetera degenerem.*] On his father's side Artabanus was not an Arsacid. It is further implied that he had not the manners and breeding of that great family. In ch. 36, we are told that he had formed marriage-connexions with the Hyrcani and Carmanii, tribes looked down on by the Parthians.
12. *Sollemnia regni.*] 'The regular duties of a king.'
13. *Praefecturas.*] The word was perhaps the nearest Latin equivalent for the vassal kingdoms of which the Parthian empire was made up. 'Provincia' would have been rather too technical a word for Tacitus to have used in this sense.
14. *Ctesiphon.*] Strabo (16, 743) calls this place a large village (*κώμη μεγάλη*), and says that the Parthian kings made it their winter residence. It was only three miles from Seleucia, on the opposite bank of the Tigris.
15. *Prolatabant.*] Sc. Phraates and Hiero.
16. *Surena.*] A Parthian title for the highest minister of the crown. In this case, it was Abdageses, who in ch. 37 is spoken of as the great support of the party of Tiridates (*columna partium*).

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. *Interiora.*] 'The heart of the empire.' Ctesiphon, where Tiridates now was, was at one of its extremities.
2. *In unum cedebant.*] Were ready to unite.
3. *Exuendi pacta.*] 'Of getting out of their engagements.'

4. *Diem haud concelebraverant.*] 'Had not assembled in state on the day fixed for the coronation.'

5. *Alimenta arcu expediens.*] 'Providing food with his bow.' Ritter notes that the word 'expedire' denotes ease and facility, and consequently implies that the Hyrcanian forests were well stocked with game.

6. *Ubi...venisse.*] 'As soon as an assurance had been given that they had come to restore him to power.'

7. *Neque...mollitia.*] 'Saying that the power was not really in the hands of an Arsacid, but that the mere empty name (of Arsacid) rested with one who from foreign luxury was without warlike spirit.' Of course the allusion in 'foreign luxury' is to the fact that Tiridates had been brought up at Rome. 'Externa mollitia' is an ablative of cause dependent on 'imbellem.'

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. *Sensit.*] Sc. Artabanus.

2. *Vetus regnandi.*] So in ch. 12, 'scientiae cacrimoniarum vetus.' Tacitus is rather fond of this use of 'vetus.' We might render it 'an old hand at kingcraft.'

3. *Falsos...fingere.*] 'He knew that there is less hypocrisy about hatred than about love.' It is not necessary to suppose, as Ritter does, that Artabanus was thinking about love for himself as contrasted with hatred of Tiridates. The sentiment is a perfectly general one.

4. *paedorem.*] He was found 'illuvie obsitus.' See preceding chapter.

5. *ne animo...coaluisse.*] 'Were not even in heart sufficiently united for loyal obedience.' Had their outward circumstances been more favourable, it could hardly as yet be expected that there could be unity of heart and purpose.

6. *Quem rursum foveant.*] 'Whom now again they are supporting.'

7. *Amne objecto.*] The Tigris, on the left or eastern bank of which Ctesiphon was situated, where Tiridates now was. See ch. 42. By going back into Mesopotamia Abdageses would put himself on the right bank of the river.

8. *In Syriam revectus.*] Tiridates by returning into Syria, which was a Roman province, in fact deserted his partisans, and so absolved them from the disgrace of treachery towards himself.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. **Domuum et insularum.]** The 'domus' were the great houses of the nobility and the very rich; the 'insulae' were blocks of buildings let out in chambers and flats. In these the great bulk of the population of Rome was housed.

2. **Contemptu ambitionis.]** 'Ambitio' here means 'temporary popularity.' More permanent fame Tiberius did not despise, as we see from ch. 46.

3. **Haud dedicavit.]** This was done by his successor Caligula. Suetonius speaks of these works as 'imperfecta,' as not having been dedicated, (Tiber. 47; Calig. 21).

4. **Aestimando cujusque detrimento.]** 'To assess the damages in each case.'

5. **Quam...rettuli.]** See ch. 20. 'Ei' is Caius Caesar: 'imitando amore' 'by feigning love.'

6. **Pacto matrimonii vincere.]** 'To entangle him in a matrimonial engagement.'

7. **Apisceretur.]** Rather an old-fashioned word, which, as equivalent to 'potiri,' governs a genitive. The compound, 'adipisci,' is common enough, and in III. 55, Tacitus construes it with a genitive (rerum adeptus est).

8. **Commotus ingenio.]** Sc. he was liable to such paroxysms of rage as to suggest insanity. Of Agrippina (I. 33) it is said that she was 'paullo commotior,' that is, 'rather too hot-tempered.' Tacitus seems to have regarded Caligula as almost a madman, as he speaks of him (Hist. IV. 48) as 'turbidus animi.'

9. **Simulationum falsa.]** 'The deceits of every sort of hypocrisy.'

10. **Avi.]** Of course Caius Caesar was merely by adoption the grandson of Tiberius. The emperor was however really his great-uncle.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. **Hoc.]** This seems to refer to the plans of Macro with regard to Caius Caesar as well as to the immediately preceding sentence. All was known to the emperor, both these plans and the young man's character.

2. **Nepotes.]** The son of Drusus, (his name was Tiberius,) the emperor's *own* grandson, and Caius, the son of Germanicus.

3. **Conposita aetate.]** 'Of mature age.' Claudius was in his 33rd year.

4. **Bonarum artium cupiens.]** Claudius had literary tastes; these might be described as 'bonae artes.'

5. **Inminuta mens.]** That is, he had not the full complement of intelligence. Claudius was stupid in ordinary matters of business, though he may have had a sort of cleverness. The phrase implies *mental* deficiency, as 'commotus ingenio' in ch. 45, suggests the notion of *moral* derangement.

6. **Illi...ambitio.]** 'He did not care so much about popularity in the immediate present, as about fame with posterity.' Tacitus here, it is to be noted, speaks well of Tiberius; at all events, he attributes to him an honourable sentiment.

7. **Jactis...futurorum.]** 'Not however without dropping some expressions which were such as to show that he was thinking about the future.'

8. **Non abdita ambage.]** 'In no obscure round-about phrase.'

9. **Occidentem...spectari.]** According to Plutarch in his life of Pompey this was said by that great man to Sulla on the occasion of a triumph being refused him.

10. **Minorem ex nepotibus.]** Drusus's son, Tiberius.

11. **Occides.]** This was done by Caius in his first year of empire, and thus Tiberius's prophecy was fulfilled within a few months.

12. **In patientia.]** 'In his suffering.' An unusual meaning of the word.

13. **Firmitudinem.]** 'Strong health.'

CHAPTER XLVII.

1. **P. Vitellii.]** He had been one of the chief accusers of Piso and Plancina as to the circumstances of the death of Germanicus. (II. 74).

2. **Illis.]** Se. Balbus and Otho. Balbus, it appears, got Otho condemned and banished by way of revenging himself on him. He himself, as appears in ch. 48, soon followed him into banishment.

3. **Satrio Secundo.]** He had been a 'cliens' of Sejanus (IV. 34). By 'coniuratione' is meant the conspiracy of Sejanus which 'Secundus,' it seems, had disclosed. Josephus (*Antiq.* 18, 6) says that the disclosure came from Antonia, the wife of

Drusus, the emperor's brother; so we must suppose that she had her information from Secundus.

4. *Impietatis.*] A vague charge, which would imply high treason under circumstances of peculiar aggravation. Adultery with certain persons might be high treason, and this perhaps applied to Albucilla. The offence would then be described as 'impietas.' It would also be 'impietas' to consult astrologers about the emperor's life and the prospects of empire.

5. *Connectebantur.*] 'Were included in the prosecution.'

6. *De claritudine...memoravi.*] See note on ch. 1.

7. *Praesedissee.*] That is, Macro conducted the inquiry just as he pleased, cross-examining witnesses and putting slaves to the torture without having the senate's authority. This was an extreme measure, and quite contrary to Tiberius's usual method of proceeding. He generally observed legal forms.

8. *Commentarii.*] These gave an account of the inquiry with the answers of witnesses. They would be something like our judges' notes, if Macro could be described as a judge.

9. *Nullaeque...litterae.*] The absence of any letter from the emperor against them, that is, the persons prosecuted along with Albucilla. This naturally suggested that Macro was at the bottom of the whole affair.

10. *Invalido ac fortasse ignaro.*] 'While the emperor was ill and perhaps knew nothing about it.' The sentence must be taken as an ablative absolute.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1. *Meditans.*] 'Preparing.'

2. *Ludibria.*] Insulting treatment from Tiberius who, we are told (i. 13), disliked Arruntius as a dangerous man because of his wealth and ability, and high reputation.

3. *Quemadmodum...iuventam.*] 'How was he to get safely through the youth of the emperor with whom they were threatened?' 'Imminentis' suggests the idea of something hanging over one's head and just about to fall. The word is very appropriate to Caius Caesar, whose known savage temper would soon be let loose.

4. *Convulsus.*] sc. thoroughly perverted and corrupted. The word is a very strong one, and denotes a complete revolution in a man's character, such as could be due only to the shock of some great change of circumstances.

5. *Pessimis innutritum.*] 'Bred up in all that was vilest.'

6. *Ut deterior.*] 'As being worse' (than Sejanus).

7. *Rem publicam conflictavisset.*] 'Had brought incessant misery on the state.'

8. *Acta et instantia.*] 'The past and the near future.'

9. *Bene...usum.*] 'That Arruntius chose death happily for himself.'

10. *Truci eloquentia.*] His eloquence was that of a merciless 'delator.'

CHAPTER L.

1. *Jam...deserebat.*] 'Already the emperor's constitution and strength were leaving him, not yet his habit of dissembling.' It is hard to find a good rendering of 'dissimulatio, for which the Greek equivalent would be *εἰρωφεία*. Tiberius, as painted by Tacitus, was a consummate *εἰρων*. He dissembled to the very last.

2. *Idem animi rigor.*] That is, he maintained the same unyieldingness of spirit. He would not, so to say, be beaten. The context explains this more in detail.

3. *Sermone ac vultu intentus.*] In 'intentus' there is the notion of tension, as in a strung bow. The emperor kept himself in a state of tension. He made a sustained effort to talk and to look as if he were well and strong.

4. *Quaesita.*] 'Forced,' 'unnatural.'

5. *Defectionem.*] A writer of the Augustan age would have added 'virium' or some such word.

6. *Villa...dominus.*] Originally, as appears from Plutarch (Marius, 34) this had been a country house of Marius, and was more luxuriously furnished than might seem suitable for a hardy soldier. It was subsequently acquired by Cornelia, the wife of Pompey the Great, and from her it passed by purchase into the possession of Lucius Lucullus.

7. *Supremis.*] 'Suprema' is constantly used by the later Roman writers for a person's last moments, or for his funeral obsequies.

8. *Non quidem regere valetudines.*] Tiberius, as we are told in ch. 46, thought that after thirty years of age a man could regulate his health without medical advice.

9. *Per speciem officii.*] 'Under the pretence of a respectful salutation.'

10. *Neque fefellit.*] That is, the emperor was not deceived, but knew the real purpose of Charicles.

11. *Discumbitque ultra solitum.*] 'Sits at table beyond his usual time.'

12. *Mortalitatem explevisse.*] That is, 'to have completed the full term of human life,' or perhaps simply 'to have finished his mortal course,' without any reference either to its length or brevity. In this way the phrase seems to have been commonly used, as a sort of euphemism for death. It is to be noted that such euphemisms were particularly frequent in the silver age. We may compare the use of '*suprema, novissima, finire*' (as below), like the Greek *τελευτάν*.

13. *Recreandae defectioni.*] 'To restore his failing strength.'

14. *Novissima.*] 'The last penalty.' For '*novissimum supplicium*.'

CHAPTER LI.

1. *Nero.*] Tiberius Claudius Nero, who had been a strong partisan of Caius Julius Caesar.

2. *Utrimque.*] On both father's and mother's side, his mother Livia Drusilla being the daughter of Drusus Claudianus, who had been adopted into the '*Livia gens*.' The adoption made the daughter a Livia, as here said. She passed into the '*Julia gens*' by her marriage with Augustus.

3. *Proscriptum.*] This was in B.C. 41, in what Tacitus v. 1, calls the '*bellum Perusinum*.' In the quarrel between the triumvirs Tiberius's father had sided with Lucius Antonius against Augustus, and was besieged with him in Perugia. When the place was taken, he had to fly from Italy, but he was able to return in the following year, the quarrel having been made up.

4. *Conflictatus est.*] 'He struggled with.' Used here as a Greek middle.

5. *In lubrico.*] 'On slippery ground.'

6. *Iulia.*] The notorious and thrice married daughter of Augustus.

7. *Tolerans aut declinans.*] Sc. enduring it while he was at Rome, and getting out of its way by going into retirement at Rhodes.

8. **Vacuos...penates.]** Empty, because his rivals above-mentioned were now dead. So 'inanis regia' and 'vacui Colchi' in ch. 34.

9. **Morum...diversa.]** 'There were distinct epochs in his character.'

10. **Egregium.]** Understand 'tempus.' 'It was a glorious epoch,' &c.

11. **Imperiis.]** 'Military commands,' as in Germany and on the Danube.

12. **Occultum.]** To be referred to 'tempus'; 'a time of dissembling.' 'Occultus' is used for a close, reserved person.

13. **Intestabilis.]** See note ch. 40. Tacitus could not have used a stronger word.

14. **Suo tantum ingenio utebatur.]** 'Simply followed his own inclinations.'

NOTE ON CHAPTERS 16, 17 OF BOOK VI.

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS AT ROME IN A.D. 33.

THESE two chapters require some detailed explanation, both historically and as to certain expressions which occur in them. The financial crisis and the ruin in which it involved many families, are represented by Tacitus as due to a sudden and wholesale prosecution of the money-lenders, who had been carrying on their business in a way forbidden by Julius Cæsar's legislation on this matter. The legal proceedings arising out of the affair were on too great a scale to be dealt with in the usual manner by the prætor, and he therefore referred them to the Senate. Nearly all the senators appear to have been implicated in these transactions, and so they begged the emperor to settle the business as gently and leniently as he could. The usury-laws of the dictator could not be revived in a moment. A year and a half was granted, within which their requirements were to be enforced. During this period all monies lent on mortgage were called in; this led to a number of forced sales, under the direction of the treasury officials, and a large proportion of the specie found its way into the exchequer, where it remained locked up. Cæsar's law was now applied, and the Senate ordered that, in each case, the creditor should have landed security in Italy for only two-thirds of the amount he had advanced. This was intended to relieve the debtor and bring back money into circulation. The creditor who had been exacting high interest would have, under this arrangement, to submit to a loss of one-third of his invested capital. Suetonius says¹ that the Senate's order was to the following effect: that the money-lenders were to invest two-thirds of their property in land, and the debtors were to pay off at once two-thirds of their debt. However, it seems clear that the debtor was to be relieved altogether of one-third of his debt, and this it was which the whole body of creditors resisted. They claimed payment in full (*in solidum*

¹ *Life of Tiberius*, 48. Cum per senatus consultum sanxisset ut foeneratores duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent, debitores totidem aeris alieni statim solverent. What Suetonius terms "patrimonium," is with Tacitus "fenus" (invested capital).

appellabant). With the debtor, too, such payment was a point of honour. It could, however, be accomplished only by a multitude of forced sales. Thus an immense number of estates were suddenly thrown on the market, and the value of landed property was greatly depreciated. The money-lenders who had hoarded up their capital with this view, purchased at an unfair advantage, while the unfortunate mortgager, the deeper his obligation, suffered all the greater loss, as he had to sell under the most unfavourable circumstances. "*Aegrius distrahebant*," says Tacitus of the debtors; that is, they were all the more grieved at having to sell their properties, "*distrahere*" being a technical word in this sense, and meaning "to sell in lots." The emperor met the crisis by allowing loans from the treasury on which no interest was to be paid for three years, these loans being secured on landed property worth double the amount.

The law of the dictator Cæsar, which, Tacitus says, the money-lenders had transgressed in their dealings, was a law regulating¹ the terms of lending and of holding property in Italy. By "*lex*" he probably means Cæsar's general legislation with respect to the relations of creditors and debtors rather than any specific enactment. As the leader of the popular party, Cæsar had to provide for the relief of the debtor. It was an urgent crisis. A vast amount of the capital of the country was locked up in the hands of the money-lenders. Many of Cæsar's party clamoured for what the Romans called "*novæ tabulæ*," that is, an entire cancelling of all existing debts. This demand he effectually resisted. However, in B.C. 49, he let a law be passed which prohibited any one from having more than 60,000 sesterces, or about £500, in actual cash. Money beyond that amount was to be invested in land. This law was soon dropped. But debtors were relieved by another² law, which reduced the amount of each debt by a deduction from it of all arrears of interest, as well as of all interest already paid. It was further provided that the creditor's claims were to be satisfied by his taking the debtor's property according to its value before the civil war. In this way, too, he would be a loser, as all property in land must have been temporarily depreciated after that period. The deduction of the interest from the capital, according to Suetonius, had the effect of reducing the debt, as it then stood, by 25 per cent. This was a substantial relief to the debtor. Cæsar did not stop here. He endeavoured to devise a method of checking for the future the accumulation of capital in the hands of the money-lenders. How he did this has been pointed out by Mommsen in his

¹ De modo credendi possidendique intra Italiam.

² Suetonius (*Julius Cæsar*, 42).

"History of Rome¹." He prescribed, it seems, the amount of loans at interest, and fixed the proportion each loan was to bear to the value of the estate on which it was secured. It was, perhaps, not to exceed half the value. The object of his legislation was to make every capitalist a landowner in Italy, and so to hinder the growth of a class which might be able to lock up in its coffers all the ready money of the country. Mommsen thinks that he went farther than this, and prescribed not only the maximum amount of loans, but also maximum rates of interest. It was this legislation of Cæsar which the usurers, described in this passage of the *Annals*, had set at nought. It would seem that properties had been mortgaged for their full, or nearly their full value, that high rates of interest had been exacted, and that arrears of interest had been added to the original loan. In many ways, no doubt, the money-lenders had laid themselves open to prosecution under the laws of the first Cæsar.

There cannot be much question, we think, as to the meaning of the phrase "*unciarium fenus*." It is absurd to suppose, as some do, that it can mean interest at one per cent. per annum. This could not have been possible in a community in which money was so scarce, as was the case with Rome in her early days. In such states the rates of interest are always what we should consider high. As Niebuhr long ago pointed out, "*unciarium fenus*" denotes interest equal to $\frac{1}{12}$ of the capital, or $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. This was for a year of ten months, the old Roman year. On twelve months it would be 10 per cent., and in this view Mommsen concurs.

It is less easy to say what Tacitus means by "*versura*." Does he mean simply "usury," and is he referring to a law carried by Lucius Genucius, a tribune of the plebs, B.C. 341, which, according to Livy (vii. 42), forbade usury altogether? He has just said that the interest was reduced from 10 to 5 per cent. (*semuncie*), and Livy (vii. 27) tells us that this was done B.C. 344. The total prohibition of usury seems to us very preposterous, and possibly Livy may have misunderstood what Genucius attempted. Still, we can conceive that a tribune in a time of popular excitement may have really carried such a law. To this view Niebuhr inclined, and, though Orelli thinks it quite untenable, Mommsen² appears to adopt it. "The taking of usury," he says, "was at length altogether forbidden." We observe that Ritter, too, in his note on this passage (in his last edition) takes "*versura*" as simply equivalent to "*feneratio*," and quotes Livy, vii. 42, in support of his opinion. This interpretation has generally found favour with the translators of Tacitus. It is possible that "*versura*" may have this meaning, but it is rather strange to suppose that Tacitus

¹ Vol. iv., part ii., chap. 11.

² *History of Rome*, vol. i., book ii., chap. 3.

uses it here in this sense, unless he had really intended to perplex his readers. Orelli therefore gives the word its proper technical signification, which Niebuhr¹ had explained in his "History of Rome." "Versura" is properly "changing one's creditor," or "borrowing money to pay off an old debt." Thence it passed into meaning what we call "compound interest." We have already seen that Cæsar had forbidden any arrears of interest to be calculated in estimating a debtor's obligation. Similar laws had been passed before his time, and the law of Genucius may really have been one of them. Livy perhaps used the expression "fencerari" loosely, or may have² simply taken it from Annalists who did not clearly understand the matter. The tribune's law may have been only an anticipation of Cæsar's legislation, and not a sweeping prohibition of usury altogether. There is a possibility that Tacitus, in these few words, may have meant to correct what he regarded as a popular misapprehension of the subject.

¹ *History of Rome*, III. p. 78.

² His words are—*Invenio apud quosdam*, i.e. *scriptores*.

TACITUS'S CHARACTER OF THE EMPEROR TIBERIUS.

NIEBUHR¹ in his lectures on the History of Rome quotes a remark said to have been made by Napoleon I., that Tacitus had not done justice to Tiberius. There is at present a growing disposition to incline to this view. Dean Merivale in his "History of the Romans under the Empire" points out that he had great merits, and that he has been in all probability much misrepresented by ancient writers. Professor Beesly goes further, and has argued at considerable length in two articles in the *Fortnightly Review*² that Tacitus's account of him is nothing more nor less than an elaborate libel.

There can, we think, be hardly a doubt that the old traditional notions about this emperor require to be modified. It was usual to conceive of him as a wily hypocritical despot who solaced his declining years with ruthless cruelty and the foulest sensuality. Certainly, in the pages of Tacitus, he stands before us as a man who dissembled with consummate skill and with infinite delight. Something like a hardened cynicism, which cared not for contemporary opinion or for that of posterity, seems to have been the basis of his character, if we judge him solely from Tacitus. Niebuhr, though he allows he had some virtues as well as great abilities, and quotes with approval the remark above referred to, has not ventured to dispute the generally accepted view, and believes him to have been both a tyrant and debauchee. There was always, he thinks, a hateful side to his character, and this during his reign was more and more developed. Is this a true estimate of him? Dean Merivale is sceptical; Professor Beesly denies it *in toto*, and is confident that the emperor has been shamefully maligned.

Our knowledge about Tiberius is drawn mainly from four writers, Tacitus, Suetonius, Dion Cassius, and Velleius Paterculus. Among the first three there is a general agree-

¹ Lecture cxii.

² *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1867, January, 1868.

ment. All take the unfavourable view. Suetonius, however, is a writer not to be highly valued. He was fond of gossip and scandal, and he had not much discrimination in choosing his materials. He goes out of his way to fill his pages with disgusting details of the emperor's alleged profligacy. Very possibly, too, being a contemporary of Tacitus, he may have been brought almost entirely under his historical influence, and not have ventured to exercise an independent judgment. Dion Cassius wrote his history nearly two centuries after the death of Tiberius, and so had to depend wholly on previous writers¹. He seems not to have been a remarkably acute man, and a character like that of Tiberius was one with which he was hardly competent to deal. He describes it as a compound of many virtues and many vices, both of which were carried to extreme lengths. Substantially, he does not differ from Tacitus, who indeed, we may fairly assume, formed the views of subsequent authors in all their main outlines. Next comes Velleius Paterculus. He was a soldier, and had served under Tiberius in Germany and in Pannonia in the years A.D. 5 and 6. Of these campaigns he wrote a narrative during Tiberius's reign. Niebuhr appears to have had a high opinion of him², though he admits that he had bad features in his character. "He is," he says, "trustworthy, and an excellent historical source, where he had no temptation to distort the truth." Such a temptation, however, must have been tolerably strong at the time when he was writing. Dean Merivale³ speaks of him as a courtly panegyrist, and this, we believe, is the commonly accepted view. Very possibly he was a good soldier, and he is certainly a clever writer, but the fact that he persistently praises Sejanus is hardly in his favour. Whatever we may think of Tiberius, there cannot be much doubt that Sejanus's influence over him was for evil, unless, indeed, there was a deliberate conspiracy among all the chief later authors to deceive posterity. We have no right indeed to disregard the testimony of Velleius, or to question that he felt a sincere admiration of Tiberius, but still we cannot help thinking that much of his language is close akin to flattery. This, indeed, was not unnatural, as Tiberius was his patron. Flattery, too, of a very gross kind was unfortunately becoming more and more characteristic of the age, and this may be fairly taken as an excuse for Velleius when he speaks of the emperor's "divine deeds;" of his "superhuman munificence;" of his "incredible and unspeakable filial piety," &c., &c. We can believe that such rhetorical phrases as these may have been used without conscious insincerity. Still, they ought to be noted, when an attempt is made to represent

¹ His account of Tiberius has not come down to us entire.

² *Lectures on History of Rome*, Lecture cxi.

³ *History of Romans under the Empire*, chap. 46.

Velleius as simply an honest and straightforward soldier, to whom flattery would be distasteful. It is quite possible that he may have described without exaggeration Tiberius's achievements in Germany, and the affection and confidence with which he inspired the troops. That Tiberius was a general of the highest ability, that he showed a strong sense of duty in his care for his men, and was regarded by them with positive enthusiasm, is, we think, likely to be true. At any rate, we do not see why we should not take Velleius's word for all this. But are we not on unsafe ground when we argue from it that there could not have been latent in Tiberius a bad and hateful side of his character, which subsequent circumstances developed and ultimately brought into frightful prominence? Is it not quite possible that a man may have had all the great and good qualities, which Velleius attributes to Tiberius, up to a mature age, and yet in his declining years have become, under special temptations, a tyrant and a sensualist? Nor, again, have we any certainty that Tiberius, though a good soldier, an accomplished and cultivated man with some real virtues, may not have had a secret inclination to vice, and indulged it when opportunity offered. It seems to us that we have not the evidence which can justify us in pronouncing confidently on such a matter. If Tacitus is to be assumed to have had a strong bias which made him take the worst view of Tiberius, it must also be remembered that Velleius had powerful motives to speak well of him. It is going too far, we think, to impute to Tacitus deliberate and continuous misrepresentation solely on the strength of the excessive eulogies of Velleius. It is, however, perfectly fair to scrutinize closely Tacitus's own narrative and see whether there are grounds for suspecting that he has dealt particularly hard measure to Tiberius. It may be so, without our having to suppose that he was an utterly unscrupulous historian. Had he been this, he would not have hesitated in plain terms to have pronounced Nero the author of the great fire at Rome in A.D. 64, as, it seems, most writers did. But he had, unquestionably, a very bitter dislike of the Cæsars and of Cæsarism. He hated the Cæsars as the destroyers of the old Roman freedom, and, though he may have recognised the necessity of a political revolution and even of the concentration of power in the hands of one man, he heartily disliked the authors of the change. It was under Tiberius that this change may be said to have been fully consummated, and this fact would be enough to present him in an odious light to the Roman nobility, and to the class to which Tacitus belonged. He would be held up to infamy as the subverter of free institutions. If it could also be said with any truth that he was a proud, ungenial, and reserved man, it would be almost a moral certainty that he would be the subject of gross misrepresentation, and that

even an historian such as Tacitus, who could not fail to appreciate real greatness and capacity, and would never stoop to the level of a Suetonius, might incline in this direction.

That Tacitus has done this, we think there is evidence in his own pages. We are not prepared to say that his view of Tiberius is an utterly inconsistent and impossible one, but it certainly often seems needlessly harsh, and not quite reconcilable with passages in which he recognises the presence of good qualities and praiseworthy motives, though he does this rather grudgingly and reluctantly. He admits himself that the history of Tiberius, like the histories of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, "was falsified, while he reigned, through terror, and written after his death with the irritation of a recent hatred." This is confessing that he drew his accounts from poisoned sources. He says, indeed, that he has no motives to bitterness or partiality, but his history, at all events its general tone, produces the impression that, though he could heartily admire a great man, he was apt to be both bitter and contemptuous in his judgments. Towards Tiberius he is almost always bitter. It was, he gives us to understand, the merest affectation of humility when he professed himself unequal to the burden of empire. The Senate were made to go through a degrading farce, that they might sink to a lower depth of adulation. He is represented¹ as taking offence at leading senators from the most unworthy motives. If he checks² flattery to his mother, it is because he considers it a slight to himself; if he checks it when offered to himself, he is acting insincerely, or is giving way to a sullen and ungenial temper. It is assumed³ that several distinguished men, Piso among them, "were destroyed by various charges through his contrivance." It is hinted, not indeed asserted, that he was responsible for the death of Germanicus, and that he possibly got rid of Piso, his instrument in accomplishing that death, by foul means. Yet Niebuhr, who takes an unfavourable view of him, acquits him of the first crime, and Dean Merivale confidently maintains that he was guilty of neither. It is⁴ rather insinuated that he allowed the provinces to be under the same governors for an unusually long time from bad, or at least improper motives, though there is reason for believing that the arrangement was favourable to the interests of the provincials. In the account of the prosecution of Libo Drusus, when, according to the historian, the system of delation first began to develope itself, the emperor⁵ is represented as resorting to an ingenious legal device in order to procure his condemnation. When Hortalus applies to him for help in his poverty, the answer he received was⁶, it is hinted, gratuitously ungracious, although it is obvious that there may have been good reasons for the emperor's sternness,

¹ *Annals*, i. 13.

² *Ibid.* i. 13.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 14.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 80.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 38.

and equally certain, as Tacitus takes care to tell us, that he could be and often was extremely munificent. Sejanus was probably a bad man, clever and able, but of a low and vulgar type, and his elevation is perhaps a serious blot on Tiberius, but the emperor was, it must be remembered, aged and lonely. The result, no doubt, was frightfully disastrous to Rome, and it would be useless to deny that the thickest gloom hung over his last years. They were, in fact, a reign of terror. Was Tiberius to be pitied or simply detested? His famous letter to the Senate in which he says¹ that "he does not know what to write, or how to write, or what not to write," is susceptible of two meanings. Tacitus chooses the worst, and assumes it to have been the expression of remorse. When he finally sums up his character, it is² in a bitter sentence in which he plainly hints that his temper had always been radically vicious.

On the whole, we think that there cannot be much doubt that Tacitus inclines to an unfairly severe view of this emperor. He had merits, as he admits, judicious munificence, administrative ability, thoughtfulness for the rights and welfare of the provincials. He was a good and careful financier, and would not let public money be squandered in the vulgar show of gladiatorial exhibitions. He was frugal and economical in his personal habits, and the imperial establishment³ was not so great or splendid as some of those of the nobles. He would receive⁴ legacies only from friends, though it was the fashion of the time for rich men to remember the emperor in their wills. It is clear from Tacitus's own account that he had many of the qualities which go to make a wise and just ruler. Equally clear is it from the same account that the malignant gossip of the day often charged him with the foulest crimes without the least real ground, as in the case of the death of Drusus. The historian's marked bitterness is no doubt to be explained by the fact that he regarded Tiberius as the deliberate organiser of the hateful practice of "delation," and as thus the murderer of his country's liberties. This is the view which is ever present to his mind, and it leads him to be continually attributing bad motives and suspecting apparently good ones. The hideous horrors connected with "delation," which were still fresh in his memory, hardly allowed him to do justice to the emperor in whose reign they began to show themselves. Tiberius indeed, he is careful to tell us, often inclined to mercy, mitigated a harsh sentence of the Senate, or even stopped a prosecution altogether, and the actual number of persons who perished on charges of treason previous to the ascendancy of Sejanus was, as Professor Beesly has pointed out, comparatively small. Yet even in these cases, we often meet with an ill-natured remark or insinuation, which betrays the animus of the writer. It is possible that we might have had a different picture of the emperor, had his reign closed

¹ *Annals*, VI. 6.² *Ibid.* VI. 51.³ *Ibid.* IV. 7.⁴ *Ibid.* II. 48.

before the rise of Sejanus. As it is, there can hardly be a question that its last years, when he buried himself in the seclusion of Capreæ, were exceptionally horrible, and of this, as Dean Merivale remarks¹, we have an evidence in the paralysis and almost utter extinction of all literature.

The truth about Tiberius seems to be that he had many moral and intellectual qualities of a high order, but was hard and unsympathetic. He was not the man to be popular while he lived, or to be remembered for his virtues after his death. Very possibly, he had much of the cynical temper which is often allied to a commanding intellect. Perhaps, as has been conjectured, he may really have had a touch of the hereditary insanity which is said to have been characteristic of the Claudian house. If so, the stories about his abominable old age at Capreæ may have an element of truth in them. But even though Tacitus seems to have believed them, we must bear in mind that they must have rested wholly on mere gossip, and that all gossip is particularly apt to be unfavourable to a man who is never seen in public². It may be that the memoirs of the younger Agrippina, to which Tacitus once refers, were the main source from which these stories were drawn. Whether the old emperor, in disgust at the state of Rome and the prospects of the empire, may have taken refuge in utter sensuality, is a question we have no means of answering. With the evidence before us, we are not, we think, justified in pronouncing a confident opinion. It is to be further noted that, like many men of powerful intellect, he appears to have had a vein of superstition, and to have valued and believed in astrology³. He was possibly a fatalist, and this may be a clue to some of the obscure passages of his life. With all the extant accounts we have of him, it still seems that, as Dean Merivale says⁴, we have "to scan the features of this ill-omened prince through a treacherous and distorting haze."

¹ *History of Romans under the Empire*, chap. 46.

² *Annals*, iv. 53.

³ *Ibid.* vi. 20.

⁴ *History of Rome, &c.*, chap. 46.

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